

JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

1923

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New Harvard Books

Children Astray, By *Saul Drucker* and *Maurice B. Hexter*

Adopting the analytical case method for the presentation of their material, the authors here give the results of their many years' work with the problem of juvenile delinquency. The twenty-four cases in the book are representative of the most important types, so that all social workers dealing with children will find it a valuable contribution to their field. The Introduction by Dr. Richard C. Cabot is especially illuminating. "Any reader, and especially any parent or teacher, who can lay the book down once he has started it, must be something less than human."

—*Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

Price, \$3.50.

Essays In Social Justice, By *Thomas N. Carver*

"It is the seasoned reflection of a fertile thinker who is concerned not with propaganda of economic hobbies but with getting at certain fundamental principles of our economic and social life."—*Cornell Alumni News*. "A vigorous, practical, and readable discussion, original both in its manner of treatment and in the emphasis which it places on economic factors."—*A. L. A. Booklist*. "Suggestive, stimulating, and inspiring; a windfall for the student of the social sciences."—*Intercollegiate Socialist*.

"It is a distinct achievement to discuss the bigger economic problems of the day in the style and manner of a successful novel."—*The Living Church*.

Price, \$2.50.

Learning and Living, By *Ephraim Emelton*

"Nine essays of a delightful character dealing with themes of both immediate and enduring importance. Distilled into the pages is the essence of the scholar and gentleman who wrote them. In the charm of their literary style, in the mingling of wit and wisdom, in their sane and hopeful outlook upon life, these essays remind us of the best work of the New England writers of an earlier generation."—*The Congregationalist*. "One of the most delightful books recently published on the scholar's life."—*Springfield Republican*.

Price, \$3.00.

The Quarterly Journal of Economics

Published in November, February, May and August; edited by members of the Department of Economics in Harvard University. Contents for August, 1923; The Rural Economy of Japan, *Daniel H. Buchanan*; The Ethics of Competition, *Frank H. Knight*; A Theory of Business Cycles, *Lawrence K. Frank*; Wages Regulation and Children's Maintenance in Australia, *Paul H. Douglas*; Legislation for the Farmers: Live Stock Markets and Grain Exchanges, *G. O. Virtue*; The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations, Its Spokesman, Its Record, *Herbert Feis*; Book Reviews; Notes and Memoranda.

Price, \$1.35 a copy; \$5.00 a year.

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The Search After Values

In recent numbers of THE JOURNAL constant mention has been made of the desire to provide through its "Library and Workshop" a distinctive sort of service and a standard of excellence and variety commensurate with its constituency and opportunity. Now comes, with the first number of its second volume, the most important announcement which THE JOURNAL has made since its embarkation one year ago. The fact that HARRY ELMER BARNES and FRANK H. HANKINS will take charge of the book reviews of *The JOURNAL* will, in the opinion of many, give it the most scientific treatment of American sociological literature appearing anywhere. The distinctive contributions which Professor Barnes has made in his bibliographies of the social sciences and in his book lists and reviews for *Foreign Affairs*, *The New Republic*, *The Historical Review*, *The American Journal of Sociology* and others are too well known to need comment here. No more do the contributions of Professor Hankins need elaboration here. Their special efforts will, we believe, constitute an admirable new year's gift to readers of *The JOURNAL*, as well as a suitable expression of appreciation of their enthusiasm and confidence in the effectiveness of its work and the promise of its future.

Other additions to the editorial group will be of interest. Here on The Hill J. G. DeR. Hamilton, out of the abundance of experience and good will, joins the group. To many he is known not only for his work as head of the Department of History and Political Science at the University of North Carolina and for his publications and research, but for setting an excellent standard as editor of the Literary page of the *Greensboro News*. Wiley B. Sanders of the Department of Sociology is one of the youngest group of promise. Outside of the home folks, Benjamin J. Kendrick, like Professor Barnes, represents the field of industrial and social history, being Professor in the North Carolina College for Women, having come there this year directly from the faculty of Columbia University. Glenn

Johnson takes the place made vacant by Eduard C. Lindeman a year ago and heads up the Sociology work at the North Carolina College. Carl C. Taylor remains at the State College of Agriculture and Engineering as Dean of the Graduate School instead of going to Cornell as originally announced. His second article is appearing in this number of *The JOURNAL*. Frank H. Hankins has gone to Amherst in the place of Walton Hamilton.

Beginning in this issue of the JOURNAL will be found the first of an important series on "Southern Pioneers in Social Interpretation," with the first article by Dr. S. P. Breckenbridge of the University of Chicago—and the story she writes is important. R. D. W. Connor writes a valuable analytical article on "Walter Hines Page, American," for the January JOURNAL.

In the May JOURNAL was begun a series of studies and discussions of practical politics in which Professor Merriam set forth important considerations relating to municipal government. Other studies will continue to give valuable contributions in this field. One series will be by Professor R. D. McKenzie and will be entitled "Community Forces," in which he will give results of a most valuable study of non-partisan politics in an American city. Fred Wilbur Powell of the Institute for Government Research will write vividly concerning certain aspects of politics and government administration. The other discussions, previously announced, will come in order.

In the field of Inter-racial Coöperation the article in this number by T. J. Woofter, Jr., will have a companion discussion on negro migration by Guy B. Johnson whose critical analysis of the Ku-Klux Klan appeared in the May JOURNAL. Also a companion to that article will be found in Lucy Stark Williams' story of what is being done for the migrant in St. Louis. The special discussion of closer relation between the races in the correlation of private and public agencies, white and colored, with reference to the education of the Negro will be continued. In this

issue, see an unusual statement by Mr. N. C. Newbold. There will appear also one or more articles in this department in the series of "Southern Pioneers in Social Interpretation."

In the field of country life many valuable contributions have been provided. Professor Roland B. Harper's real statistics on the standards of living among farmers in the South will begin in the next issue. Malcolm Willey will present a discussion of the county newspaper. Carl C. Taylor will continue further discussions of the rural problem. Professor E. C. Branson will furnish more of his delightful articles from the rural field in Europe. Others will be announced from time to time.

One of the most important discussions we have seen in the realm of the church and religion is that of Professor Charles A. Dinsmore of Yale University on religious certitude in an age of science. The first article will appear in the January JOURNAL and the series will ultimately be published by The University of North Carolina Press as one of the McNair lectures volumes. President W. A. Harper of Elon College has presented an excellent program of "Christian Education" for denominational colleges which ought to be studied with much care. There are other important studies being provided for this department.

In the department of "Work of Women's Organizations" a new feature will be the presentation of special efforts being made by the different states by Mrs. H. W. Chase from time to time. Mrs. Frances F. Bernard will present the problems before the Association of University Women, Mrs. Mary O. Cowper will discuss the League of Women Voters, and many other organizations will be presented with the particular viewpoint of social interpretation and social work.

Gerald W. Johnson's "Issachar is a Strong Ass" in this number of the JOURNAL is a fitting

beginning for a series of critical analyses of certain Southern viewpoints. The next article planned discusses similar viewpoints with particular reference to the state of Georgia. The special studies of constructive and destructive leadership in the Southern States will be continued and the first reports ought to be ready sometime during the year. Jesse F. Steiner will report on some of his studies of social disorganization as founded on the survey of particular communities. In the January issue he will continue his series on the community with a discussion of "Community Disorganization."

For a special emphasis the January JOURNAL will feature "Dependable Theory" with a list of leading articles up to the JOURNAL standard. In some of the departments this theme will continue as in the case of Walton Hamilton's Labor College curriculum, Luther S. Cresman's Corporation School curriculum, Arthur J. Todd's discussion of the relation of Sociology to the curriculum of the School of Business Administration, and others.

This "search after values" discussion would scarcely be complete without an expression of appreciation to all those who have helped to make THE JOURNAL successful. That they have not made a mistake in their cordial support will, we hope, be evident as the JOURNAL grows apace, both in its circulation and in the scope and quality of its contributions. A satisfactory beginning has been made and it begins its second volume with the satisfying feeling that it has a very distinctive field with every indication of a long period of successful service.

With this number is included the table of contents and index of Volume I of *The JOURNAL*. That the outlook for the second volume is better even than this first year's promise is due the fact of a rapidly growing constituency manifesting a coöperative interest in *The JOURNAL's* efforts toward social study and interpretation. *The JOURNAL's* first birthday is a happy one.

Four Significant Books

The Negro in Chicago

in its 672 pages tells the story of the 1919 riots, describes the Commission's investigations into Negro living conditions in the North, analyzes the prevailing state of public opinion on questions of Negro industry, housing, education, and recreation, and gives fifty-nine recommendations that the Commission makes to American citizens.

\$4.00, Postpaid \$4.15

An Introduction to the Science of Sociology

By ROBERT E. PARK and ERNEST W. BURGESS

This book brings together the observations of a wide range of writers. More than a mere collection of materials, the book is a presentation of method whereby the reader may learn how to get facts rather than formulate opinions. To this end each chapter is carefully planned: the first part, with introduction and materials, to raise questions; and the second part to suggest, through the introduction of investigations, problems, and bibliography, problems for further study.

\$4.50, postpaid \$4.65

The Rural Mind and Social Welfare

By ERNEST R. GROVES

That rural people have a greater social function than merely to provide food for city dwellers is the hypothesis of Mr. Groves's study of the rural community. The menacing power of herd-suggestion, fostered by the increasing lure of the city, is particularly taken into account, and the characteristic habits of the rural social mind offered as an antidote. The material set forth analyzes the way in which the different features of his environment have produced in the farmer reactions quite different from those of the city man.

\$2.00, postpaid \$2.10

The Hobo

The Sociology of the Homeless Man

By NELS ANDERSON

The Hobo takes the reader into the realm of the casual worker and introduces him to the life of the road. It is a serious, sympathetic, and first-hand picture of the homeless man in his own environment, a powerful study of the sociology and the "getting-by" philosophy of the tramp.

\$2.50, postpaid \$2.60



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The Hobo
by Nels Anderson

The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

Volume II

NOVEMBER, 1923

Number 1

"ISSACHAR IS A STRONG ASS"

GERALD W. JOHNSON

ABOUT A DOZEN years ago a remarkable preacher preached a remarkable sermon to his congregation of college students. His text was from the 49th chapter of Genesis, 14th and 15th verses, which read: "Issachar is a strong ass, couched down between two burdens; and he saw that rest is good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute." The preacher was a pulpit orator of note, and this sermon was one of his finest efforts; nevertheless, the beauty of its imagery and the eloquence of its delivery linger only as vaguely pleasant memories in the mind of at least one of the youths who heard it, whereas the boldness of its conception is as striking as ever. The argument was, in effect, "Substitute the name of North Carolina for that of Issachar in the text, and the rest of it goes as it lies!"

The eloquent preacher had in mind some then urgent problem of his denomination—state missions, I think it was—and his argument was that in religious matters North Carolina was pouring out money for the heathen Chinese and at the same time permitting heathendom to invade North Carolina, paying tribute to other lands of her ablest and most consecrated leaders when she needed more than she was producing without sending any away, and thereby incurring the disapprobation of the judicious. This course the cleric had no hesitation in describing as asinine.

My recollection is that the broadside was terrific in its effect, but its effect was confined largely to the sect to which the preacher belonged.

It is to be regretted that he never returned to the attack, broadening his field of fire to include many aspects of the life of North Carolina other than organized religious work, for the neglect of which he accused his fellow churchmen is more or less characteristic of the whole history of the state. Let it be admitted at the beginning that Issachar shows signs of changing his character. Nevertheless, the fact remains that he has been a strong ass for generations, and is still being despoiled of something more precious than money, still paying tribute to others in the irreplaceable goods of brains and character.

Who were the greatest of North Carolinians? The most celebrated undoubtedly was Andrew Jackson, and probably he would head the list of the state's political experts. Two other Presidents should go into the list, and for the honor of the office perhaps our single Vice-President is to be included. Nor can the list be closed without mention of Nathaniel Macon, speaker of the national house of representatives and trusted friend of the early Presidents. What other North Carolinians have commanded the attention of the whole nation? Well, Uncle Joe Cannon has been conspicuous enough, whether he is great or not. O. Henry was of national size, and so was Walter H. Page. I have grave doubts that the greatest North Carolinians have been mentioned; in fact, for genuine power, both of mind and of heart, my personal inclination would be to displace any of those men, with the possible exception of Macon, to make room for Charles B. Aycock, and the elder generation will certainly

pour wrath and contempt upon any list that does not reserve first place for Zebulon B. Vance. At the same time, we have here a list of eight men—or seven, if we rule out the forgotten Vice-President—whose names have at one time or another been household words in every nook and corner of the country. In their various fields they were leaders of prime importance. And in every case except that of Macon they rose to leadership after they had left their native state! In the course of 300 years one North Carolinian has managed, as a North Carolinian, to achieve national leadership, while six have managed it by first going to other states, and another by going to another state has managed to become Vice-President of the United States. Is there not here more than a suggestion that in the matter of leadership Issachar has indeed been a servant unto tribute?

But let the dead past bury its dead. To make a fair estimate of the situation as it exists at present is much more difficult, yet there are indications on which a tolerably accurate judgment may be based. In the current "Who's Who in America" there are listed the names of 352 North Carolinians by birth, and 241 Carolinians by residence. The most fevered imagination can hardly conceive of listing in "Who's Who" as proof of greatness, but after all that book is not made up of the biographies of barbers and street-car conductors. A man must have achieved some sort of leadership before his name is entered, and on the face of the figures North Carolina is exporting about 50 per cent more men of that type than she is importing or retaining. It is evident that for some reason or other the balance of trade in leadership is running heavily against us. Men of the abler sort tend to drift out of North Carolina, and the state does not attract enough of the same type from other states to make up her losses.

The obvious explanation is economic. The incessant complaint of the business world is that there are more \$25,000 jobs than there are \$25,000 men to fill them; but there are not many such jobs in towns of 48,395 population, which is the largest figure that the census of 1920 gave to any North Carolina city. In business, especially, the keener minds almost inevitably drift to the great centers of population because of the greater opportunities there, and the pull of the

huge cities is sufficient explanation of the loss of commercial leaders. But that explanation does not suffice to cover losses in other lines.

The writer recently tried an experiment that had a curious, if not necessarily significant, outcome. He made inquiry of four native Tar Heels who have been conspicuously successful in other states, and who now reside in other states. They included two artists, a newspaper man, and a politician who held a great office under the Wilson administration. They were chosen because none of them is at the head of a great business that requires a first-class city as its base of operations, and presumably none has any ambition to achieve such a position. The inquiry was phrased substantially as follows: "If you were assured of your present income, that is, if the economic consideration were removed altogether, would you desire to return to North Carolina to live?" The answers were as various as the temperaments of the writers. There was much polite, even enthusiastic, praise of North Carolina, but either a point-blank refusal to answer the question or an answer in the negative. Then one man who had succeeded in a great city, but who actually returned to North Carolina was asked why he did it, and his answer was that he was tired of the clamor and stress. In other words, he sought peace, not stimulation, relaxation, not opportunity. "He saw that rest is good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulders to bear" the handicaps imposed by North Carolina in consideration of these things.

Moreover, there are considerable advantages. The piedmont region of the state has almost exactly the range of temperature of the French Riviera, with the difference that North Carolina enjoys more sunny days. The winters are so mild that golf is played the year round, and even tennis-courts can be used for ten months out of twelve. The state is not overcrowded and land is comparatively cheap. The cities are large enough to afford all the comforts and many of the luxuries of civilized life, yet small enough to enable a man to own a home at an outlay that, by comparison with the prices at which real estate is held in large cities, is trifling. The western end of the state is endowed with a natural beauty unrivalled in the eastern half of the continent; the other end is pounded by the breakers of the

Atlantic. Barley, most northerly of grains, grows among the high hills in the northwestern corner of the state; oranges flourish in the open air on Smith's island at the southeastern corner. Apparently the state has somewhere a spot suited to the idiosyncracies of every human being that walks the earth, excepting, possibly, Esquimaux and Hottentots. How then are we to explain the fact that, certainly until very recently, the tendency among men capable of leadership has been to desert North Carolina, and that until this very day the state has never become irresistibly attractive to the abler types of other states?

A flood of light is shed upon that mystery by a few words in Burton J. Hendrick's "The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page." They are quoted from a letter Page wrote in 1879, when his hope of entering the faculty of the University of North Carolina had just been frustrated, "I shall some day buy a home," he says, "where I was not allowed to work for one, and be laid away in the soil that I love. I wanted to work for the old state; it had no need for it, it seems."

No need for the work of superior men! It is a startling and incredible notion. Furthermore, as history proved, this very man a few years later did a bit of work for North Carolina that North Carolina needed badly. That was when he made his famous address at Greensboro on "The Forgotten Man" and for the first time turned the attention of the state sharply upon the problem of its tenant farmers. But he received only qualified thanks for it, and no thanks at all for that later blasting characterization of a familiar type of Southern clerics who are content "to herd their women and children around the stagnant pools of theology" instead of attending to their real business in the world. Even as late as 1897 North Carolina was evidently only half convinced of her need for the work of hard-minded men, who saw clearly, thought straight, and spoke the truth.

However, there was one type of superior man of whose services she could not free herself, for he went ahead and did his work without so much as a "by your leave." That was the able business man, who discovered undeveloped resources and unimproved opportunities in the state, and seized upon them. He has worked indefatigably and so well that the state today could not

be recognized by a visitor who had not seen it since the time when Page spoke on "The Forgotten Man." He has converted its waste lands into gardens and its undeveloped resources into tangible wealth. By dint of his energy and ingenuity the state has attained material salvation. No longer is Issachar bowed under the burden of the financial conquerer, no longer economically a servant unto tribute.

Yet there is material in North Carolina for another Page to write another address on "The Forgotten Man." We have bethought ourselves—or our abler business men have done it for us—of the folly of sending our cotton away for New England and old England to reap the profits of its manufacture. We have remembered that our forests will bring us more if we convert them into furniture than if we convert them into lumber. We have recollected the uses to which men may put water-power. We have recalled the advantage of preparing our tobacco for the consumer, rather than merely for the warehouse floor and the auctioneer. We have been reminded of all the things that we possess which contain potential wealth, and joyfully devote to their exploitation all our energies and resources without grudging the expense. We have remembered everything that the state produces with one exception—we still have with us the forgotten man.

The proof? Observe that North Carolina, gleefully spending \$30,000 a mile on roads, spends \$17.00 a child on educating children. That is white children. The negro gets less. The state spends \$22,000,000 a year on the education of all children, white and black, while the mere interest charges and upkeep, not counting the initial cost at all, of its roads will by next year amount to a large portion of that sum.

Let us turn from dry statistics, however, and consider the spirit of the state at large. Consider what is the value of a man as compared with a cotton mill in the estimation of the people of North Carolina. There is a tablet to the memory of this man Page in Westminster Abbey, a memorial erected and paid for by the British; unless one has been erected and paid for by his family or personal friends in some inconspicuous spot there is no monument to Page in North Carolina.

Greensboro has had for a good many years the largest denim mill in the world, and it would be hard to find in the city a man, woman, or child who is not proudly aware of the fact. Yet ten years ago a hero-worshipping youth just come to the city was informed by one of the older inhabitants that a certain drug store there was the place where O. Henry learned his trade. The youth was much impressed, and entering the place on the pretext of buying a soft drink asked further information of the attendant at the soda-fountain.

"Is this the place where O. Henry used to work?" he inquired.

"Who?" asked the functionary technically known as the slop-slinger, mopping his marble counter.

"O. Henry," repeated the anxious inquirer, and as the other's face remained blank he elucidated. "The writer who used to live here. Really Porter, but called himself O. Henry."

"Oh, Henry!" exclaimed Ganymede. "Why, yes, we did have a porter named Henry around here about a month ago, but he got drunk and we fired him, and I think he went to Norfolk."

That, however, was ten years ago. Since then the world has resounded with the name of O. Henry, and in Greensboro he is no longer the Forgotten Man. Indeed, he is so well remembered that that very drug store is now named after him. So are a hotel, and a barber shop, and a cigar, and a mattress. We have remembered that his name has a certain commercial value. What sentimental value it has can be measured by the sentiment that attaches to drug stores, and hotels, and barber shops, and cigars, and mattresses. There is no street, or square, or public park that bears his name. There is no monument to O. Henry in Greensboro that is not also a money-making institution.

I forget the name of the French king who hanged an unsuccessful general "to encourage the others," but he seems to have transmitted his spirit to North Carolina as regards her artists and intellectual workers. It would be positively dangerous even yet to mention the long list of professors who have made the state too hot to hold them by telling it unpleasant truths, but perhaps it is permissible now to refer more or less casually to the case of John Henry Boner, who

had the bad taste to be a Republican in politics. The fact that he wrote "Poe's Cottage at Fordham" could not redeem him in North Carolina society; and to this day nobody in North Carolina has named even a mattress after Boner.

The Forgotten Man is the explanation of why North Carolina exports more leaders than she imports. Not merely the tenant farmer—all men, or if you prefer, Man in the abstract. With all our getting we have not yet gotten understanding of the fact that no other product of the state is comparable in importance with her man product. No other workers in the state are doing work as important as those who deal with the bodies and minds and souls of men and women, but North Carolina doesn't believe it. She has comparatively recently acquired a vague idea that her teachers are doing highly important work, and that idea is becoming clearer with gratifying speed. She has even reached the conclusion that they deserve some material reward, and has made it possible, in theory, for a teacher to draw a salary of \$2,000 a year, which makes him approximately the equivalent of half a carpenter.

It is futile, however, to talk of financial rewards for work of the sort done by any good teacher, not to mention an artist. Yet even artists are human, and the talk of art for art's sake is largely buncombe. A distinguished scholar, native of North Carolina, was congratulated on a coveted distinction awarded him by some learned society on the other side of the world.

"Yes," he said, "I am gratified, of course. And yet," he added, his face contracting bitterly, you know, no man really likes to spend his life doing work about which his neighbors do not care ten cents!"¹

What is the guerdon of intellectual leadership in North Carolina? I do not refer to the work of the man who is merely intelligent, and who generally contrives to get along excellently and to amass ample rewards; I have in mind rather men who are really big, men who have at least a spark of the divine fire. Such men are usually but mildly interested in money; but they are

¹ The case of the Rev. Dr. J. W. Lynch, to whom I referred in the opening paragraph of this paper might be cited as an example. Dr. Lynch is a Tar Heel by birth and at one time was pastor of the Baptist Church at Wake Forest, North Carolina. By an amusing irony of fate a few years later he accepted a pulpit in another state where it was reported that the real reason for his move was the fact that his sermons were so scholarly that they could be appreciated by only one or two congregations in North Carolina.

entitled to expect some sort of reward. How does North Carolina pay? If they are but moderately successful, they may count on placid forgetfulness. But if, out of the insubstantial fabric of a dream, they erect a City of Delight whereto the world resorts to wonder and admire; if they seize with strong and cunning hands upon the hearts of men and wring them into ecstasy; if by the power of their magic they are able to transmute the hopes of their brethren, their secret longings and forgotten aspirations, into the semblance of an earthly paradise in which for the moment all sorrow and pain are forgotten, then the clamor of a charmed and worshipping world will not permit North Carolina to forget. Then, indeed, she may be counted on to do something about it. She will name a matress after the artist.

Is there some congenital peculiarity, some racial taint, in North Carolinians that renders the atmosphere of the state deadly to intellectual and artistic effort? Not in the least. The same conditions obtain in any community anywhere in the world that has remembered a multiplicity of material things and forgotten man. But intelligence in its highest form remembers nothing else, and that intelligence a community that has forgotten man is hopelessly incapable of appreciating. Eli Whitney, Edison, Henry Ford are honored and respected in North Carolina because they dealt with material things, things that North Carolina herself remembers and deals with. But Beethoven, Rodin, Joseph Conrad have no significance except their effect upon a material whose existence North Carolina has largely forgotten—man.

Oh, we gabble enough about him. Every empty wind-bag whose ambition is to attain public office for the sole purpose of saving himself from private labor is filled with protestations of his devotion to the people, usually the "plain" people. Every business pirate who has ground up the bodies and souls of his workmen and coined them into gold plates of his virtue as one who creates opportunity for honest labor. Every vacant-minded editor who hears his master's voice from the counting-room of his newspaper

proclaims unctuously his quality as the palladium of the people's liberties. Every dry-as-dust professor who warps the minds of the unfortunate students fallen into his clutches and fills their souls with loathing for scholarship by his fatuous preciosity is positively eloquent of his service in moulding the coming generation. Every cleric of the diabolist persuasion who steals the humanism from the intensely human doctrine of the gentle Nazarene and substitutes for it the image of a bloody and horrible oriental deity postures as the hope of humanity.

But if we have remembered man, as we have remembered cotton, and lumber, and tobacco, and minerals, and water-power, where are the mighty plants for his development and finishing, comparable to those for the development and finishing of material things? Where are the giants of the man-industry worthy of comparison with James Buchanan Duke, and George Washington Watts, and R. J. Reynolds, producers of material things? If our man-industry has not been forgotten, why the terrific wastage of the raw material that crams poorhouses, and orphanages, and insane asylums and jails? Above all, where is the finished product, the smooth and polished men, the sturdy, powerful men, the well-rounded, high-grade men that should be poured out of our man-factories by train-loads to match the train-loads of high-grade products that are constantly streaming from our other factories and mines and quarries?

"Issachar is a strong ass." His thews and sinews are of steel, the tempered steel that whirls in the machinery of ten thousand factories. His nerves are copper cables carrying to every part of his frame the incalculable energy of rivers sweeping from mountains and checked, but not held, by mountainous dams. His heart contracts and expands with the power of the arms of a million workers, laboring steadily and hard from year's end to year's end. Strong? There is no measure of his strength, no end to it. He has bowed his shoulder to bear, and of his brain he makes tribute. He is magnificent in his strength, and the world applauds as it increases daily.

But he is an ass, nevertheless.

RURAL LIFE IN AMERICAN ART

C. J. GALPIN

“ART HAS not come to its maturity if it do not put itself abreast with the most potent influences of the world.” So wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson more than a generation ago in his Essay on Art. And whether Emerson was right or wrong, American agriculture is looking to American Art to take a place beside her as an ally.

The Hoe Age. The hoe age in agriculture, ancient as the reign of the hoe in the world has been, closed in America some decades ago. The hoe-farmer may still be found here and there, but his day is done. In the era when the hoe was king, so tremendous was the bare task of turning the face of the earth over, that this feat outweighed every other exploit in agriculture. No wonder the hoe was king. And no wonder that the pictorial and plastic arts the world over made the farmer the man with the hoe. The farmer thereafter is the man, hoe in hand, with bent back, striking a blow at the weakest point in the earth's crust, pulling upward, loosening the earth's grip upon a portion of the soil, lifting it for a moment, and finally turning it face over. This momentary mechanical victory is repeated, clod by clod, yard by yard, hour after hour, day after day.

When the hoe-man has tamed the ox, the marble and canvas show us the ox pulling the hoe, now called plow, while the hoe-man, still eyeing the earth, holds the plow-hoe in place and goads on the ox. With the hoe-man is the hoe-woman in the field. At the chiming call to prayer, she ceases toil, bends her head, and thanks God for so much as a hoe. At harvest time the hoe, now a sickle slowly cuts down the standing grain, and the hoe-woman gleans the straws and heads. There in the hoe age is the solitary shepherd with his herd of sheep; there, the dairymaid with her milk pail brimming. The hoe-man and the hoe-woman are on canvas, in marble, in bronze, on mural interiors, in etching, in illustration, in ballad, in elegy, in novel, in drama. In rural art, the hoe still rules; while in America, at least, the hoe age in agriculture has disappeared. What, let us inquire, is the psychology

of a hoe art which is not abreast with agriculture itself?

Nature, we must remember, marvelously envelops agriculture. And the brilliance of nature sheds some radiance upon every rural scene, however unhappy and pitiful the plight of the people in the scene may be. In order, therefore, to appraise rightly the psychology of the hoe in art apart from the glamor of nature, we must take off, as it were, the shining garment of nature from the shoulders of the hoe-man, and look at the naked hoe in his hands. Looking intently on that part of the depiction, who can get away from the sheer fact of toil in that hoe,—back-bending, thigh-straining toil? Who can get away from the solitude of life in that hoe? Who can get away from the crude contact with the rough, the staining, the painful in that hoe? Who can get away from the pathos, the suffering suppressed, the frustration of hope, in the hoe? The cotter's hut goes with the hoe. The hoe means long days of labor. The hoe means woman at man's work. The art of the hoe age depicts the hoe man as he is and hoe agriculture as it is. And with this concession to hoe art, let us pass on to inquire whether there is a successor to hoe-art as there is a successor to the hoe-man.

The New Rural Life and a New Rural Art. A struggle in America, none the less titanic because not in the public eye, has been on during the last 50 years, to take the hoe out of farming; to dispossess its whole tribe; to take out the hoe-hut and the hoe manner of living; to take out the hoe school, the hoe store, the hoe church. In America the land-worker has slowly struggled to produce a machine to bear the dour brunt of labor; struggled to live like other men, surrounded by institutions which should bring the world to his doorstep, that is, bring to his very threshold the commodities, skills, wisdoms, and riches which men desire with longing, just such desirable things as men who work in the most highly favored occupations have and hold dear; struggled to overcome the prejudice of public opinion which has maintained, politely indeed

but firmly, that the farm can not enrich the soul of a people, that a curse rests upon tillage, and that culture and civilization must be given up when one goes over the threshold of the farm house.

Success has crowned the first type of struggle, and machine farming has displaced hoe-farming. As the hoe-man becomes extinct, the farm engineer is taking his place. The second type of struggle, to live like other men, is still keen and on strong. No one is wise enough to predict how this struggle will end. The third type of struggle is still more in doubt. America no longer pokes fun at the farmer to be sure; but America has not yet heartily conceded that a good kind of life is possible on a farm. The eyes of city men and city women still mirror the stigma of dirt, toil, ignorance, loneliness, branded into the honor of farming during the hoe age.

The Main Question. We now come to the main question, how American art can come in as an ally of American farming and farm life. The first answer is this: Let American art put itself abreast with this most potent occupation in America, abreast especially of the extraordinary advances in the occupation. Agricultural science has transformed farming from a traditional craft to a creative process. The pure-bred kernel of wheat, the pure-bred ear of corn, the pure-bred type of hog, sheep, and cow, have come as near to being themselves fine art products as it is possible for living automata to be. The scientific skill in breeding, of which Luther Burbank is perhaps the most widely known exponent, though perhaps not the most important, is a species of art designing. The adjustment of means to end attained in these pure-bred types, is to a philosophic mind, at least, an example, of an idealistic achievement in a material and medium, while not so gross as marble, bronze or pigments because living, is neither so tractable.

The truth is and must out that the hoe was never the really signifying thing about agriculture, even in the hoe age. The hoe made the overpowering impression, it is conceded, but neither the process nor the tool, neither the hoe nor the machine, nor the soil is the glory of agriculture. But it is the living product. It is this living kernel of wheat, this living ear of corn, this boll of cotton, this orange, this apple, this

Guernsey milch cow. The product is the farmer's pride, however toilsome the toil may have been. It is his joy to see his achievement living before him. Forgetting the journeys over the fields, forgetting the labors, just to see and show his creation,—this has lain in his mind all through the months of waiting.

Here is the first opportunity of art, then; namely, to symbolize this wonderful created thing and to commemorate that moment of joy in the farmer's life when, having made the corn and wheat to leap from the dead earth, he turns over to the world food to keep man going. Once to seize the outstanding thing about present day agriculture,—once to discern the idealism in the high-bred product—will be for art to forswear the hoe and turn to the spirit of life in agriculture.

He who would prepare to put art abreast of modern agriculture must pay a long visit to one of the dynamic centers of agricultural science. He must live in the farm homes of those men and women who have seen the inner meaning of the new farming. He must reside in the farm communities which have become equipped with the facilities for living well. He must come to know the new rural school teacher, the new rural preacher, the new rural librarian, the new rural nurse, doctor, intern, the new rural legislator,—until he is imbued with the new facts as realities and with the new hope of the new rural leaders. Such a preparation in study,—no more tortuous and no more exacting than great artists of all ages have imposed upon themselves, will bring forth a great new type of art. But is there any demand for it? What of the market for rural art?

The Market for Rural Art. As the college of agriculture is the intellectual center of the new agriculture in each state, so is it the potential center of American rural art. The college of agriculture is rapidly expanding. A building era is before it. The campus already gives one the impression of a university. While many of its architectural requirements are of the conventional type, there is perceptible a groping for an expression not found in the ordinary building. The subject matter of the college curriculum is so materialistic that those persons who appreciate best the innate beauty of agriculture, feel the need of an animating environment which shall

lift the technic of the materialistic out of the commonplace and raise it to poetic value. These forty-eight colleges will demand henceforth not only an expressive architecture, but an expressive new interior decorative art as well as an expressive exterior art. Neither can it long be overlooked that agriculture both as art and science, is bringing forth great minds and personalities, such as men in all ages have delighted to honor and commemorate in an enduring way. Agricultural legislation already has its great men whom the states will soon think to honor in bronze. Shall the sculptor of the war horse and of his heroic rider be called upon to do these pieces? God forbid. Give us rather the skill born of a new experience and a rapt appreciation.

But you will ask whether there is any broad, democratic demand for rural art. The answer is on the tip of the tongue. The thousands of rural schools in the United States have waited long with desire for these symbols of beautiful meaning which shape youth more than lessons. Educators are at their wit's end to convey to farm boys and girls the miracle of the life in which they are immersed. Here is where they need the magic of art. One little stroke from the artist's hand is worth, at this point, a hundred lectures from the educator. The new art tried out and found true at the college is ready then for the rural school.

One highway for rural art leading straight to the homes of farmers themselves, is the agricultural press. At present the photograph is in the limelight in all agricultural papers. And probably it is true that a good photograph is better in the agricultural press than a hackneyed piece of depressing hoe art, however justifiable the classic may have been in its own day and place. How welcome the new type of rural art would be, to editor and reader, it takes little fancy to feel.

Farmers are building rural community houses, great consolidated schools, great country churches. In the coming decade the number will be multiplied. Who will put the touch of beauty with meaning into these structures? Who will invest them with the air of dignity, distinction and worth? The more prosperous farmers who stay upon the land are, somewhat blindly it may be, trying to express their joy and abiding faith in

agriculture and country life, in a type of country house, of farmstead, and landscape. Who will assist in this vast enterprise to make the country more expressive, more meaningful, more human and add to the beauty of nature's majestic setting, the beauty of man's ideal and thought?

The American village which, for a generation more at least as in the past, will be the center of many activities of farmers, is as raw and crude as it is, not because agriculture surrounds it,—but because it bears the stigma of the hoe. The curse, such as it is, has been put upon it. Its blight is one of thinking,—disdain, neglect, or condescension. It will take only a thought, a fine thought, a belief,—a winsome belief, to change the American village. Whose role is it to believe the beautiful back into human nature? When art becomes an ally of agriculture, can it not, will it not, bring beauty and dignity into the small town and village? Then fountains will play on the green. Then civic centers will cluster around and beneath the elms. Then finer and finer ideas will find form in structure there. This means, however, coöperation of art with the best in agriculture and rural life.

The Practical Side of the Rural Art Problem. The problem of rural art after all comes back to a very practical question. What can be done? What are the steps toward bringing art abreast with the new agriculture and rural life? Where lies the entrance into art circles for the new rural idea, which in very truth has already energized rural education, rural religion, rural commerce, rural recreation, rural journalism? Several answers are ready. Let us glance at them.

The schools of art are entrances into American art circles. Certainly it is possible for these schools to give chance for a voice,—even though it be at first an alien voice so far as art is concerned—to plead. This idea once on the inside fanned a little, only a little, will begin to appeal to young artists of rural sympathies. If one has imbibed life from the hoe alone, he may, it must be confessed and reckoned with, be under the spell of rural pessimism. Too many exiles from farm life to city industry, have brought away only misery and disillusionment of life. But there are those who have felt the glory. Hope is in these souls.

Could we not hope for a great foundation for rural art?

Could we not hope for a place for rural art in present exhibitions and competitions?

It is by no means a chimera to look forward to a national conference and exhibition, too, of new rural art. This way trod rural education, rural religion, rural recreation. There were the enthu-

siasts of course. There were the agitators. They were not always the eminent and stately. But their voice was at length heard. So may it be, so will it be, we may expect in art. The tyranny of the traditional will be protested. And little by little the glory and beauty of a new rural art will come.

RURAL STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE SOUTH

ROLAND M. HARPER

THIS PAPER will show, among other things, that rural standards of living are not necessarily closely correlated with soil or other environmental factors, and they may vary considerably in the same region at different times, as the result of migration or wars and other calamities. They often differ greatly in neighboring regions, varying sometimes with soil fertility and sometimes in the opposite direction or apparently fortuitously. Standards also vary with different races and nationalities in the same region, often bearing a definite relation to the relative numbers of superior and inferior races; and among different individuals of the same race, the last type of variation following fairly definite laws, however.

Whether there is any hope of raising the standards of regions, races and individuals that rank low, and making complex communities more "democratic," by propaganda or concerted effort, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss. But the facts here presented do not seem to give much encouragement to would-be "uplifters," and before much effort is expended in that direction it would be well to make sure (if possible) that monotonous uniformity is preferable to interesting diversity. This first paper will present the basis upon which extension statistics have been gathered and conclusions reached.

[There is a widespread belief in this country that high standards of living among the farming population are correlated with fertile soils, and vice versa. This idea is typified by the following passages from two well-known current textbooks of rural economics and sociology:

"It is an open question whether the poorest land is not destined to remain ultimately in the possession of a poorer type of man. A selective process seems to be going on, which tends to bring about such a result. Where the land is fertile and the opportunities for agricultural enterprise are good, the intelligent and progressive youths are induced to remain on the farm. . . . On the other hand, where the land is poor and opportunities meager, the more capable of the growing youths tend to move away." (Carver, *Principles of Rural Economics*, 1911, pp. 363-364.)

"Within the limits of a single state or even of a single county or township may now be found social groups with poor schools, poor churches, poor homes, and a severe struggle for existence, simply because of difference in productivity of the soil, while other groups are enjoying good schools, good churches, and all the social and economic advantages that come from control of favorable economic resources. . . .

"Moreover, in the less favored agricultural sections are areas that do not at the present time appeal to a progressive type of population and consequently we find in the same state the greatest extremes of agricultural wealth and poverty. These extremes permanently condemn, under our present system of social progress, large parts of our population to inferior systems of education, inferior schools and churches, and less contact with progressive agriculture and rural life. This is one of the most fundamental influences of geographic conditions." (Vogt, *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, 1917, pp. 26-27, 31.)

Within an area as small as an average state, where climatic differences are unimportant, and where the farmers are mostly of one race, some such relation may seem to hold; but when widely separated regions, and especially different races and nationalities of farmers, are compared, so many exceptions appear that it can hardly be maintained as a general principle. For example, China certainly has more fertile soils than Denmark, but the Danish farmer is far above the Chinese in standards of living. The average soil of Europe must be considerably more fertile than the average of the United States, but from all accounts European standards of living are lower than ours; which explains why the population is so dense and labor so cheap in Europe. The Rocky Mountains in Colorado and the Sierra Nevada in California certainly have no advantage over the mountains of North Carolina in soil, topography, climate, or nearness to markets, but there is a great difference in the scale of farming in the eastern and western mountains, in favor of the latter, as one can easily ascertain from census figures and otherwise.

And where different races of farmers live in the same community, as in our southern states, there is usually a marked contrast between them in standards of living, as will be shown in detail in the following pages. Furthermore, in every county and in practically every farming community there are farmers of the same race differing widely in efficiency and standards of living, just as trees, shrubs and herbs of numerous species may grow side by side in the same soil.¹

Again, on the same spot the prevailing standards may change considerably from one generation to another, through migration or otherwise. About the middle of the last century the pioneer farmers of Illinois and Iowa were living in log cabins and other primitive abodes, while the planters of the slave states were enjoying the luxurious life of country gentlemen; but now the pioneers have pushed on farther west or died out, and the upper Mississippi Valley has some of

the most prosperous farmers in the world, while most of the old southern plantations have been broken up into one or two-horse farms.

A little reflection will show that soil need not necessarily influence standards of living at all. For if a very fertile region happened to be occupied by farmers with very simple tastes, like the Chinese in the delta of the Hoang-Ho, the Egyptian fellaheen in the valley of the Nile, the Mexican peons, and the negroes in the Mississippi bottoms and on the sea-islands of South Carolina, each family would be likely to cultivate only the few acres necessary to supply its wants, and let others settle close to them; while a progressive farmer on poor soil, like much of New England and Florida,² could acquire a farm large enough, or cultivate a small one intensively enough, to bring in almost any income desired.

Topography may have more influence than soil; for in a very hilly or mountainous region it is difficult to operate a farm large enough to bring in a good income. The southern Appalachians and the Rocky Mountains both have many valleys of various widths, ranging from V-shaped ravines to flat-bottomed valleys half a mile or more wide. In the wider valleys of the southeastern mountains there are many prosperous farmers with painted houses, silos, automobiles, etc., but in the same counties the typical mountaineers inhabit the narrow valleys, and their numerous small primitive farms bring down the statistical averages. In the western mountains, on the other hand, the farmers have mostly come in comparatively recently from the Mississippi Valley states with comparatively high standards of living, and they have settled in the wide valleys and refused to push on up into the narrower ones.

Climate may have some influence, but not as much as is sometimes supposed. New Englanders are commonly believed to be more enterprising than Southerners because the former live in a "bracing" and the latter in an "enervating" climate. The northern farmer of course does have to have a more substantial house, and a good shelter for his animals, and work a little harder to provide fuel for the long winters; but

¹ But a tree and an herb growing side by side do not necessarily have the same environment, for a tree sends its roots deep into the subsoil, and its top is exposed to the chilling blasts of winter, which have little effect on the roots or seeds of herbs, covered by leaf-mold or snow. Likewise a progressive farmer, who takes a daily paper and other periodicals, and occasionally visits distant states or cities, can take advantage of the latest agricultural developments in other regions while his illiterate neighbor knows only what he sees and hears in his own narrow circle.

² A few years ago there was great indignation in Florida over a widely circulated magazine article that stressed the poverty of the soil in that state. But the Floridians could have replied very effectively, if they had thought of it, that even if Florida has the poorest soil it has some of the most prosperous farmers in the South.

there are profound differences between regions so close together that they cannot differ materially in climate, as will be shown presently. (Any one who believes that the alleged superiority of New England civilization is due to climate should try to imagine what conditions would be there if coal was unknown.)

STATISTICAL MEASURES

Before proceeding much further it will be necessary to select some statistical measure of standards of living, for which data are already available. This study is restricted to rural conditions not so much because they are any more interesting or significant than those of the urban or the total population, but chiefly because of the great variety of information about farms given in the various United States census reports. And indeed urban standards of living seem to be much the same all over the country (and perhaps in all English-speaking countries), at least among people of the same race in cities of the same size with similar industries.

The proportion of urban population is itself a pretty fair index of the degree of civilization, for an area as large as an average state, if a suitable minimum size limit for cities is used and other things are not too variable. The average city dweller is not necessarily more prosperous or civilized than the average farmer in the same county or state, but social conditions are more diversified in the city than in the country (both millionaires and paupers being most numerous in cities), and a state or country with a large city population generally has more efficient farmers than one where there are few cities and the farmers do not produce much more than they consume themselves. For example, Maine and California, with over half their population in cities of 2,500 inhabitants or more, would probably be conceded to have a higher degree of civilization (counting the whole population, white and black) than Arkansas and Mississippi, with denser population but fewer and smaller cities. But for smaller areas such as will be discussed below such a measure might be misleading, for the trade territory of a city often extends far outside of the natural region in which it happens to be located.

In some respects the best measure of standards of living is per capita wealth. Statistics of that were formerly given by the U. S. census, but that does not seem to have been done at all in recent years, or for whites and negroes or city and county separately at any time. The comptrollers or other officials of the various states publish at frequent intervals the value of property as returned for taxation, by counties and in some cases for whites and negroes separately. But assessed values are usually lower than true values, the ratio varying in different states, and no return is made of non-taxable property, such as court-houses, city halls, schools and churches, so that such data are not worth much except for comparing different counties or groups of counties in the same state, or the wealth of the same area at different times.

Probably the best available measure of the farmer's standard of living is the value of his home and other buildings. For it goes without saying that a prosperous farmer, whether owner, manager or tenant, will be likely to have a better house and barn than a shiftless one; though climate has to be taken into consideration, as suggested above, on account of more substantial buildings being needed in cold climates than in warm ones. Unfortunately the United States censuses did not separate the value of farm buildings from that of land and fences until 1900, and separate figures for white and colored farmers by counties are available for 1910 only, so that it is not possible to make satisfactory comparisons between different decades in this respect. But values of farm land, fences and buildings combined, together with the number of farms, have been given for every county by every decennial census since 1850, and that affords a measure of rural standards of living almost as satisfactory as building values alone. The same censuses also give the value of farm implements and machinery and live-stock, which could be added to that of land and buildings to get all farm property, but for the fact that there are no returns of live-stock values by counties for the two principal races separately, even for 1910. And before the Civil War farm property in the South included slaves, but the census never published any values for those.

Another sort of index of standards of living, if it were properly interpreted and the returns were sufficiently accurate and detailed, is the amount of certain foods consumed by the average farm family in a year. The total number of pounds, bushels, or calories consumed by an adult in a given period perhaps does not vary much between rich and poor, but the more civilized families are apt to use more fruit, milk, butter, eggs and chickens, and less "hog and hominy" than the others. The last two or three censuses give for each county the amount of milk, butter, poultry and eggs produced on farms in the preceding years, and the amount sold; and the difference divided by the number of farms, after making allowance for what is wasted or overlooked or bought, should represent the amount consumed by the average farmer's family. But in the area treated in this paper there is a large proportion of negro farmers, whose dietary standards differ from those of the whites; and the races are not separated in this sort of statistics, even for states, although in one of the agricultural tables of the 13th Census for each southeastern state there are two columns headed "white" and "colored" which should have been filled with just this sort of information but were left blank. (For the northern and western states the native and foreign farmers might have been separated and some interesting differences brought out.)

However, it is possible to select groups of counties close together and having similar soils and climate but differing considerably in the racial composition of the population, and compute such dietary statistics. And the results as far as the writer has investigated always show a greater consumption of milk, butter, chickens and eggs per farm where whites predominate, even though white families average a little smaller.³ But in comparing regions differing considerably in latitude, temperature would have

to be taken into consideration, for butter and other fats are likely to be used more in cold climates than in warm ones. There is a considerable difference in that respect between Florida and some of the northern states, and still more between Alaska and Porto Rico, both of which are covered by the U. S. census.

There are a few other kinds of statistical data that have a bearing on standards of living, but have not been used as measures either because they are not published in sufficient detail or because their significance is open to question. For example, the 14th census (1920) gives the number of farms in each state that have automobiles, telephones, etc., but no data for separate races or single counties, so that the figures do not mean much in the South. Recent reports of the comptroller-general of Georgia, and perhaps some other states, give the value of automobiles owned by whites and negroes in each county, but no indication of how many are used on farms and how many are mere pleasure cars owned by city dwellers.

It might be supposed that the relative number of farm owners and tenant farmers would be significant, for tenants are commonly more shiftless than farm owners in the same communities. This might do pretty well within the limits of a single state, but for the whole country, or different countries, such comparison would have little value, for tenancy varies with soil fertility often in the opposite direction from what standards of living are supposed to. In such progressive agricultural states as Illinois and Iowa the average farm is so valuable that a person of moderate means can hardly afford to own one, and there are nearly as many tenants as owners; and the average rented farm is more valuable than the average owned farm.⁴ On the contrary in Florida and other thinly settled regions where the soil is poor and land cheap, it is easy to own a farm, and owners greatly predominate. The proportion of owners is always high in the early stages of settlement, and tends to decrease gradually as civilization advances. The pioneer who first clears away the virgin forest nearly always

³ In Bulletin 1034 of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, on farm management and farm organization in Sumter County, Georgia (1922), there appears among other things the results of a special investigation of the food produced on the farms of white and colored owners and tenants. The white owners, with an average of 4.8 persons per farm, used in 1918 among other things 272 gallons of milk and buttermilk, 90 pounds of butter, 56 chickens and other poultry, and 83 dozen eggs. At the other extreme the negro tenants, with an average of 6.6 persons per farm, used 197 gallons of milk, 61 pounds of butter, 24 head of poultry, and 41 dozen eggs. The value of food produced on the farms in that year ranged from \$162 per adult or equivalent in the case of white owners to \$75 for negro tenants; and if the amount obtained from grocery stores was known it would probably show a somewhat similar ratio.

⁴ In a recent study of farm incomes in Michigan and other northeastern states by Earl D. Davis (Rep. Mich. Acad. Sci. 21: 55-59, 1920) it was found that there was very little difference in the average net incomes of owners and tenants, and also that farmers compared favorably in that respect with lawyers, ministers and various other classes of workers.

owns the land (having perhaps gotten it from the government for little or nothing), while in England, where agriculture has been highly developed for centuries, nearly all farmers are tenants.

The value of land per acre, and the yield of crops per acre, are correlated with density of population and intensity of farming, but have little to do with standards of living. A European peasant who cultivates a few acres intensively with hand tools is certainly lower in the scale than the Dakota farmer who works hundreds of acres with complicated machinery but gets only a dozen bushels or so of wheat off each acre. But at the same time in this country the farmers who raise truck on valuable land near cities are generally more prosperous than those who live farther out and engage in general farming.

Statistics of illiteracy throw considerable light on the conditions of civilization, and they can be

had for every county, for city and country separately, and to some extent for different races, nationalities, ages, sexes, etc. But the illiteracy count makes no distinction between college graduates and persons who can barely read and write, and it gives only one point on the educational curve, that now near the bottom in most cases. If the United States census would grade all the inhabitants according to the number of years of schooling they have had, as the state census of Iowa does, the results would be much more valuable.

Some statistics of illiteracy for different periods, regions and races are given in two of the following tables, to show their relation to other factors discussed. Other tables presented in the next section of this paper will show the relations between some of the various criteria of civilization, as discussed above, in each of the twelve southeastern states.

(Continued in the January JOURNAL)

THE CITY-DRIFT OF POPULATION IN RELATION TO SOCIAL EFFICIENCY

R. CLYDE WHITE

FOR A DECADE or two there has been a good deal of discussion of the drift of population from the country to the city. In popular discussion of the subject there is frequently the assumption that, since there is a city-drift, it is socially harmful. But that does not follow necessarily from the fact. Outside of immigrant groups the birth rate is higher in the country than in the city, and, when the number of jobs is insufficient to go round, the surplus migrates to the commercial and industrial centers. But has there been an excess of migration? "Excess" has meaning only in relation to social efficiency. If the migration has grown to such a point that the adjustment between urban and rural populations is upset, then there is excess in city-drift. But this can be determined only by a large number of statistical studies which will involve a consideration of imports and exports as well as products used at home; the problem of "reverse selection" in the rural population comes in and also the question of sources of leadership in thought and public life.

In this study I have undertaken to study two phases of the problem of drift of population. One is the adjustment of population to the land; the other is the source of leaders in public life and thought.

I. SOURCE OF LEADERSHIP

It is a familiar assumption that the prominent men of the nation were born in rural communities. Long lists of presidents, senators, congressmen, physicians, lawyers, business men, teachers, clergymen, etc., can be cited in support of this belief. An assumption that goes along with this is that, if it were not for the recruiting of leaders from rural communities, the cities would be hard put to it for adequate ability to carry on their complicated affairs. But to look at the gross number of leaders from rural or urban communities is superficial. The number of leaders from the rural communities must be compared with the total rural population, and likewise the urban; in that way we can determine

the number of leaders per hundred thousand population in either segment of the population.

I have attempted to do this for England and Wales and for the United States. The only sources of information for this study in compact form are the volumes of "Who's Who." For England I used the edition of 1920; for the United States that of 1922-23. I selected England and Wales, because the material was accessible and because they have been prevailingly urban since 1851; in that year the urban population was 8,990,809 and the rural 8,936,800, making about .4 of one per cent more in cities than in open country and villages. The United States has been prevailingly urban only since sometime during the decade, 1910 to 1920; for in 1910 there was 54.1 per cent of the population rural. Now, if the city-drift affects the supply of leaders adversely, it ought to appear in England any time after 1851 very definitely.

In the use of "Who's Who" in England it was necessary to do some calculation. The volume has 2,846 pages of biographies; to go down each page and select out the names of those whose date and place of birth were given would have required more time than was available and for the purpose of securing a ratio it was unnecessary. Another difficulty was that many names were given without date of birth or place; these had to be left out of the total count. So the names which had both dates and places given were taken from 678 pages. Then the average number of names per page was determined by dividing the total pages into the total number of names; the quotient was used to ascertain the total biographies having dates and places in the whole volume. While this calculation will not be absolutely correct, it is relatively so, and the ratio between urban and rural leaders should not be materially different from that which would result from a consideration of every possible name.

The births of men were tabulated by years, beginning with 1851 and going to 1881. No names were taken before the first date nor after the latter; a considerable number of names of men born before 1851 were given, but manifestly in 70 years a large number who would have been in the 1920 edition of the volume had died. Of men born after 1881 it is quite clear that many

will yet be in "Who's Who" whose names did not appear in 1920. Thus, the three decades from 1851 to 1881 were chosen as the best for purposes of this study. Having ascertained the number of births by years, they were grouped by decades for the purpose of determining how many names per hundred thousand population appeared during the decade. The English census is taken the year after the decimal decade ends, and in order to increase the accuracy of the calculation the population in 1856 was used instead of 1851, thus taking the population in the middle of the decade. The arithmetic method was used to find this; the same process was repeated for the other decades. The following table gives the results of the calculation of the number of leaders, as represented in "Who's Who" in England, per hundred thousand population rural and urban:

Decade	Rural	Urban
1851-60	3.08	6.70
1861-70	3.48	5.69
1871-80	2.32	2.38

In the decade from 1851 to 1860 inclusive the birth rate for leaders is twice as high in the cities and towns as in rural communities; in the next decade the ratio is slightly more in favor of the rural population but still only a little more than half the rate for cities; the third decade shows the rates just about equal. There is no patent explanation for such a radical change in the ratio for this decade. However, a large number of the hereditary nobility of England are born on country estates and are credited to rural population; they have a status which would, other things being equal, get their names into "Who's Who" at a younger age than other people. This observation has added weight, when it is noticed that the number of rural leaders per hundred thousand population is much nearer the same for each decade than are the urban numbers. Consequently, the approximation to equality of the urban and rural numbers in the last decade may be more apparent than real. It is very clear that the cities up to 1881 have produced more than their share of the leaders of England and Wales. This, of course, is relative, because according to "Who's Who" there has been an absolute decrease in the number of leaders per hundred thousand population. Again a factitious element

may enter; for in later editions of "Who's Who" many more men born in the last two decades, particularly the last, will have their names published.

The same decades have been used in the study of American leadership, except that the decade begins with 1850 instead of 1851, because the United States census is made in the decimal year of each decade. Some difficulty was found in dividing the population into rural and urban for the three decades, beginning with 1850, because it was not until 1880 that the census reports begin to show this division. So calculation had to be resorted to. For the three decennial enumerations of the Census Bureau from 1880 to 1900 the percentage of the population which was rural was 70.5, 63.9 and 60 respectively, or there was an average increase of urban compared with rural of 5.5 per cent. If it is assumed that the average shifts of population were the same for the three preceding decades, we can get very close approximation to the actual ratio existing between urban and rural; this assumption will favor the rural population in the final result, because it is reasonable to assume that the rural population was a larger per cent of the population in these earlier three decades than in the last three. In order to refine the calculation further the average increase of urban has been divided by ten, giving .55 per cent as the average for each year, but not all the population was born in the first or second year of the decade. So this average is applied to the decade as follows: first year, .55 per cent gain of urban over rural; second year, 1.10 per cent gain; third year, 1.65 per cent gain; etc. This is continued for ten years, and then the sum is taken and divided by ten, which gives a little more than 3 per cent. This is added once to the percentage of rural, 70.5, for the census of 1880 in order to get the ratio existing between rural and urban in 1870; it is added twice for 1860 and three times for 1850. Why was not 5.5 per cent used? That would have been the per cent of rural in the year 1870 but would not have allowed for the gradual retardation during the decade, whereas the above method does. Then in order to use the population at the middle of the decade for purposes of calculating ratios of leadership the increase of urban and rural during each decade is divided by two and the quotient added to the urban and

rural respectively for the preceding census. This gives the population for 1855, 1865 and 1875 approximately.

Having ascertained the urban and rural population for the required decades, the number of leaders per hundred thousand for each segment of the population is calculated. In determining the relative number of leaders in the United States the same procedure was used as in the case of England and Wales. "Who's Who in America" for 1922-23 was employed. The biographies on 238 pages were counted. The American "Who's Who" does not reprint some biographies but simply gives the names and refers to a previous volume, where they may be found. These were omitted from the present calculations; for it is a ratio and not absolute numbers that is wanted anyway. It was not necessary to go through so many pages as in the English volume, because the biographies are shorter in the American edition and so average five times as many per page. 1,297 biographies were chosen, and then the totals for the 3,274 pages of the volume were calculated on the basis of the average per page of those actually counted; it was found that there are 15,913 names with date and place of birth given, and these are used in the following calculations:

Population Table

<i>Year</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Pc.</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Pc.</i>
1855	5,600,118	20.5	21,717,480	79.5
1865	8,224,199	23.5	26,776,647	76.5
1875	11,759,639	25.5	32,597,488	73.5

The significance of this table lies in the very large rural population which it shows. The country in these decades was overwhelmingly rural, and in these years it should show clearly whether or not the rural communities produce a preponderant number of leaders. The following is the table of rates per hundred thousand population:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
1855	130.9.....	384.0
1865	182.6.....	272.3
1875	102.2.....	209.3

Not only does the rural population fail to produce a preponderant number of leaders, but it produces only about half as many per hundred

thousand population as the cities do. It has been assumed that the bulk of our public leaders were born in rural communities, and that is true of absolute numbers, as the following table shows and from which the above rates were calculated:

Year	Rural	Urban
1855	2,843	2,151
1865	4,890	2,239
1875	3,330	2,460

But the United States had had a rural population of over 50 per cent until the last decade, and during the last half of the nineteenth century, when great men were supposed to have been produced, before the supremacy of the cities, rural communities did not furnish their proportion of the leaders; they ought to have provided nearly twice as many as they did in order to equal the cities in productivity.

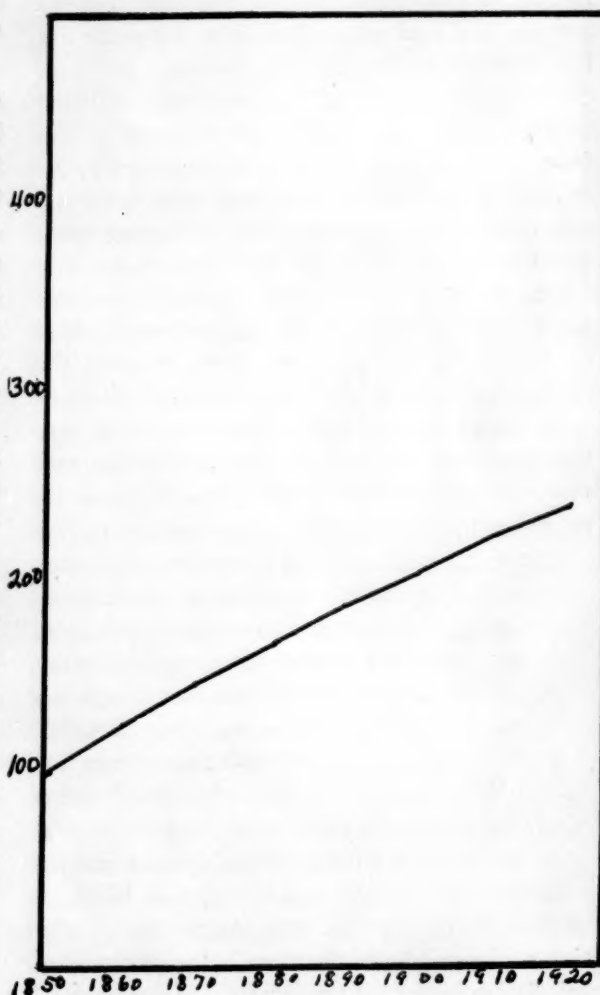
There may be several explanations of the above fact, but it would take investigation to prove any of them. The stimuli are more numerous in the cities, and interstimulation is multiplied many times; these require many and varied responses, and the exigencies of city life are such as to demand accurate responses. Such a condition tends to develop to the limit whatever capacities for leadership an individual may have. (This study shows nothing as to the quality of leadership produced by urban and rural population.) If a good many men born in the country leave it and move to cities in childhood, that is just an additional reason for believing that the city offers the best opportunities for the development of the powers of the individual for leadership. It is often said that leaders produced by the city are superficial and that those who come from the rural community are more profound; these statements require proof. Theoretically, it would seem that multiplication of stimuli and the necessity of accurate learned responses would make the best type of leadership. Another possible explanation of the relatively large number of important men born in cities is that for many years a reverse selection has been going on in rural communities by which the best blood moved to the cities and so continues to furnish a large per cent of the leaders. This is a plausible explanation, but it again emphasizes the advantages

of the city for the alert and capable individual; this observation is necessary to explain the original exodus from rural to urban communities.

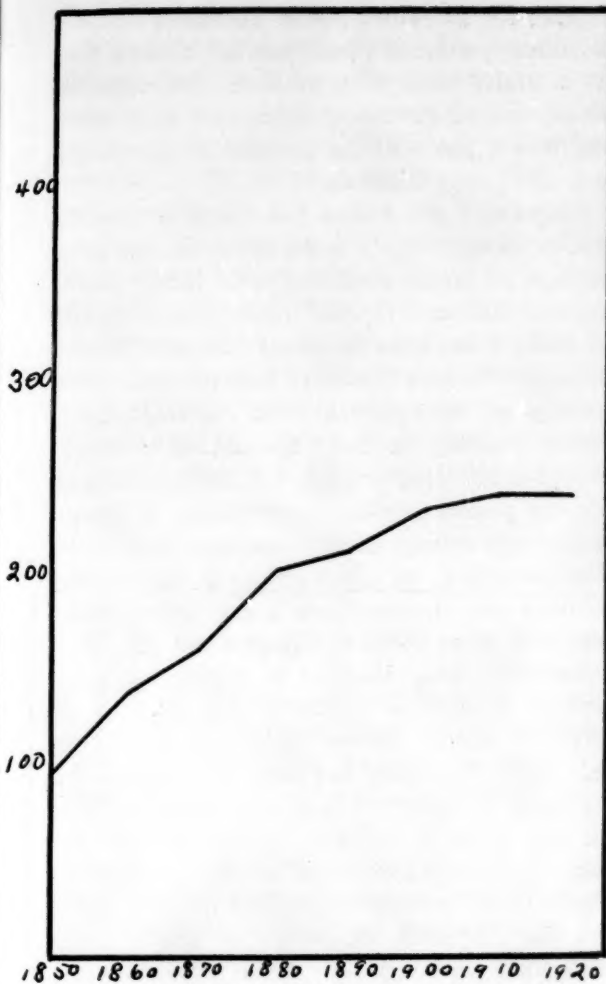
That leadership in rural communities is necessary is obvious. The problem of making the open country an adequate situation for the development of leaders and giving it sufficient organization for the exercise of excellent ability is an important one.

II. ADJUSTMENT OF POPULATION TO PRODUCTION

Since the total and relative number of important men in the nation is not affected adversely by the movement of population from rural to urban communities, the problem must be ap-



POPULATION CURVE FOR U. S.



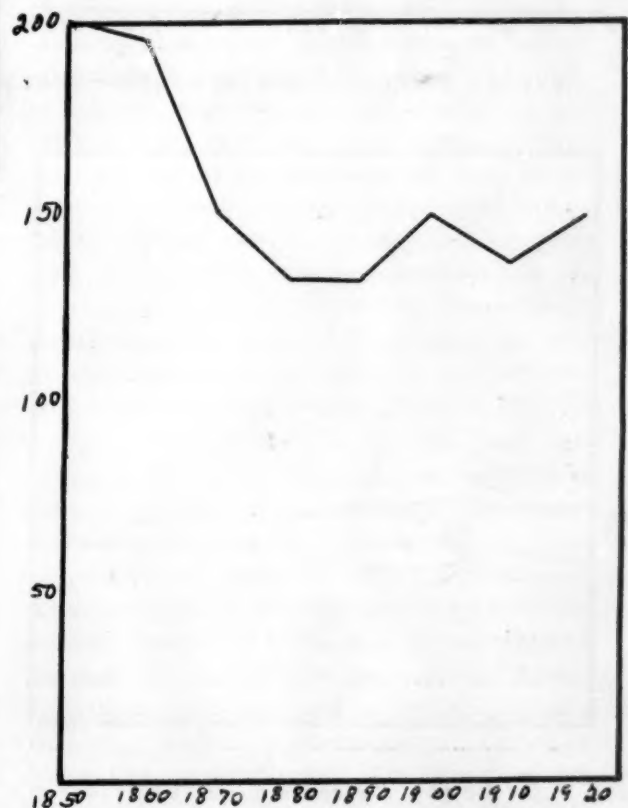
CURVE FOR NUMBER OF FARMS

proached from another angle. Has there been the proper adjustment of population to production of raw materials in the nation? Have we maintained or improved per capita production? Manifestly these are questions which require much more thorough analysis than I can give, and they certainly demand the assembling of a great variety of information. Therefore, I shall give only a few diagrams of factors which seem to be essential and which may suggest a general tendency.

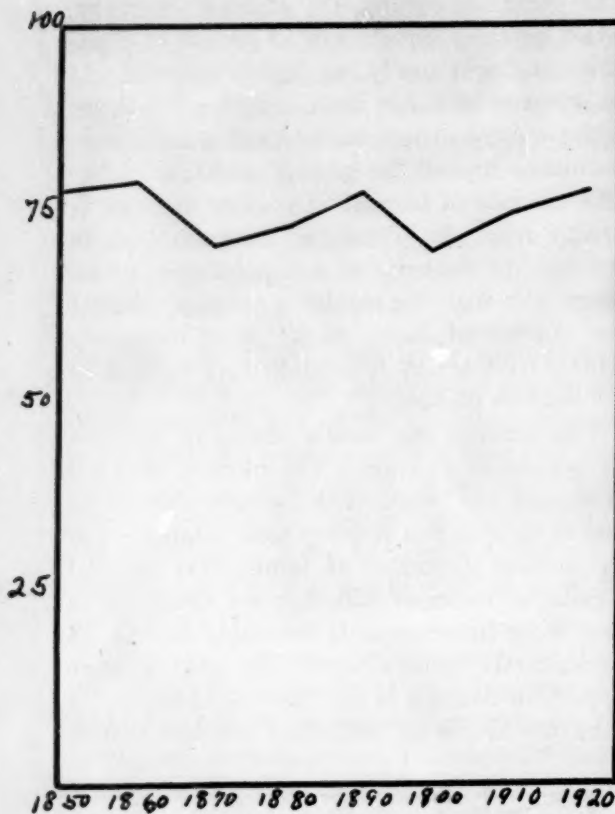
In the accompanying diagrams, Nos. 1 and 2, the tendency of population growth is compared with the increase in the number of farms. Diagram No. 1 shows the trend of population, when 1850 is taken as a hundred per cent, or the base.

The curve shows just the slightest concavity, which indicates that the rate of growth of population is almost steady but slightly retarded. If we compare with this curve Diagram No. 2, we notice a little more concavity and a little more fluctuation around the general tendency. After 1900 the rate of increase of number of farms is greatly retarded. These two diagrams seem to indicate the tendency is for population to increase with slight but regular retardation, whereas the number of farms varies quite irregularly with a tendency to retardation very marked in the last two decades.

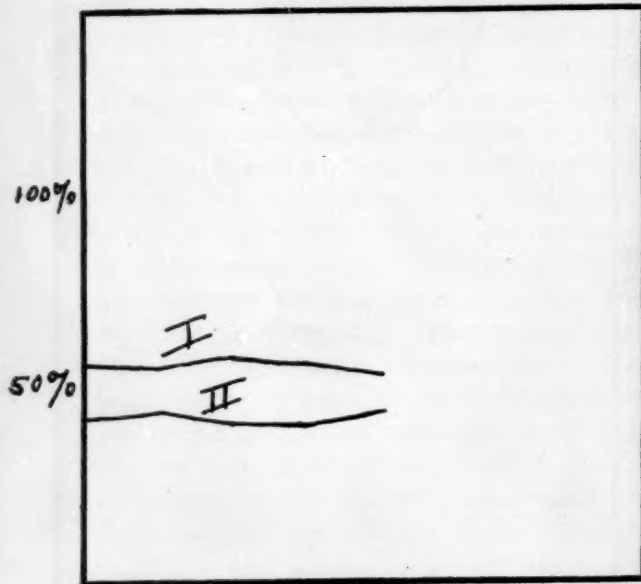
This situation may have a bearing on the drift of population to cities. The increase of rural population has been retarded greatly since 1850, and along with this is going some retardation in the increase in number of farms. Yet the total population increases with fair constancy. This may in the future result in increasing shortage of agricultural products which will require more imports or decrease in the standard of living. It does not create an immediate problem that is



AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS—ACRES



AVERAGE IMPROVED LAND PER FARM—ACRES



I. RURAL FARMING POPULATION

II. RURAL NON-FARMING POP.

urgent; for the world has by no means reached maximum production, but there are distinct limits to arable land. The problem here raised is mainly one of theoretical importance at present, and it is a phase of the problem of population long ago put by Malthus.

Diagrams 3 and 4 show the change in average size of farms. No. 3 is the curve for the total acreage of farms, beginning with 1850. Starting with 202 acres in 1850 it has dropped to 148 in 1920; it has been as low as 130 acres in two decades. Perhaps this curve indicates real estate activity as distinguished from farming; there would probably be more speculation in unimproved land. Diagram No. 4 is more significant for the problem under consideration. It shows the average acreage of improved land since 1850. The curve is by no means constant, but its fluctuations are relatively small, the lowest being about 72 acres and the highest about 79. The remarkable thing about it is that the average acreage in 1850 is identically the same as in 1920, 78 acres. Several things are implied in this fact. Population has been increasing in the nation as a whole; the rural population has been slowing down in increase; farm machinery has been vastly increased; farm tenancy has been on the increase; perhaps the number of farm laborers has decreased relatively. A smaller rural population in comparison with urban supports the nation on approximately the same number of farms per hundred thousand population on farms of about the same size. In view of the increase in farm machinery one man may do the work of more than one, perhaps even double or treble his efficiency. This necessitates the migration of otherwise farm laborers and tenants; such an emigration is to be encouraged, if there are not enough jobs to support the population. In my judgment that has been one of the prime causes of the rapid movement of people to the commercial and industrial centers. Farmers who try to operate large farms are finding increasing difficulty in securing labor. This tends to augment tenancy, because the large farms have to be broken up into several small ones and rented to tenants, each of whom usually does his own work. The introduction of farm machinery enables one man to cultivate a farm as large as one formerly cultivated by himself and additional labor. This seems to be the meaning of Diagram No. 4.

Diagram No. 5 shows the ratio of farming to non-farming rural population. The majority of the people living in rural communities are farmers, but a large number are required to fill the trades, professions and distributive occupations essential to the farming population; these may conveniently be called the non-farming rural people. The diagram shows remarkable adjustment between these two divisions of the rural population; the largest variation in the percentage of farmers is 3.4 per cent, and, of course, the same is true of the non-farming group. This small variation indicates a high degree of mobility and prompt response to changed conditions. The fact that such rapid adjustment goes on

would seem to be evidence that emigration of rural people to the cities is due to economic necessity. Either there are not many surplus people in the rural communities, or these communities insist upon supporting about the same number of unproductive individuals over a considerable period of time.

III. SUMMARY

(1) The rural community produces fewer leaders per hundred thousand than the city does. (2) The adjustment of population to production has been apparently prompt. (3) Decrease in the relative number of farms will necessitate imports or lowering of the standard of living.

THE CHURCH AND THE COUNTRY LIFE MOVEMENT

WARREN H. WILSON

THE SOCIAL movement in the interest of the country churches has had continuous growth for fourteen years from known beginnings. It maintains until the present its sociological character. The leaders of it are men of the type of the instructors of sociology in the colleges. Country Church Work, as it is commonly called, was undertaken by the Presbyterians first in 1909 in explicit response to the demand made by President Roosevelt and the Country Life Commission. The Presbyterian Board of Home Missions under Dr. Charles L. Thompson, Secretary, was at that time attempting to serve particular populations such as the Wage-earner, the Immigrant, the Mexican, the Indian, the Lumberjack. Rev. Charles Stelzle, who had been a mechanic and never college taught, was the advocate of "Church and Labor." Frank Higgins, a ruder type without Mr. Stelzle's intellectual force and finish, was "The Lumberjack Sky Pilot." Each of these men left a lasting impress in church organization.

When the Roosevelt Report, written largely by Dean Bailey of the Agricultural College of Cornell University, was issued by the Senate, I was designated to hold conferences in the interest of the country church. I had been country-bred and had proved my social inclination. An immediate response came, not only from the Presby-

terian but from other churches. So great was the response that from that time on I have been absorbed in the service of the rural population, with as many assistants as I could discover. The sociological character of this movement was indicated by the response of the first five years in which we employed speaking, conferring and writing. We were used by all agencies—religious, educational and social—in all parts of the country. It was evident that the social concept of the country community, very like the older idea of the parish, had been awakened in the mind of many people. It was an idea fertile in social suggestion and full of promise, to many persons who look to the country as an alternative of the growing congestion and strain of city life.

The contribution we made, who were employed in this work, proceeded from the point of view of my dissertation in Columbia University, written under the title "Quaker Hill—A Sociological Study," under the personal direction of Professor Franklin H. Giddings. We viewed the country church as a social institution conditioned by geographical, economic and industrial forces, moulded by educational and recreational methods, and not bounded by denomination. For eight years this movement took no denominational form and was promoted by one denomination with an eye upon common interests. It was not

until 1917 that the Methodist Episcopal Church appointed a Professor of Rural Sociology in Ohio State University, Paul L. Vogt, to organize the work in their Communion. There are now ten religious bodies having Country Church Departments, most of them employing full time Directors or Secretaries.

Those first eight years were filled with a series of extraordinary and surprising experiences. In 1910 appeared Rev. Matthew Brown McNutt in a rural parish near Chicago, with a story to tell of the life he had lived for ten years with the people of DuPage township. Music and athletics had interpreted the community. In the same year I heard of a young New England woman of means and culture, who moved with pity for the "people in the back of the towns" of western Massachusetts, had given herself to their service and was their preacher, missionary and champion before the churches. This woman, Anna B. Taft, became my assistant in 1910. Her excellent business training in the well-ordered home of a New England manufacturer enabled her to organize our office and field work, and to direct the growing corps of workers. Her fine literary sense was useful in editing the numerous publications we sent out. Her passionate, eager, human spirit, her fine discrimination and worldly wisdom made her pilot of those first years, during which our office served all denominations interested in rural social religious life. Miss Taft died in 1916, but from 1910 onward she managed the field work of Mr. McNutt and myself in our campaign of teaching and speaking.

I suppose that the years 1910-16 were a season of national realization with reference to rural matters. I can in no other way explain the market we had for our wares. We spoke and wrote, held conferences, addressed conventions of many thousands assembled in the name of "Conservation, Country Life," the "Rural Program," and we delivered our message to scores of hearers who met in country conventicles. We had equal joy in both occasions. We were called to all parts of the country and our services as speakers, lecturers and writers were demanded by church bodies of nearly all faiths, by state educational societies and bankers' conventions, farmers' conferences, national health bodies, conventions upon recreation, social work and reform.

Characteristic of this period was the extraordinary career of Mr. McNutt, a modest, gentle voiced country parson, with a pronounced literary gift, who was snatched out of an Illinois parish into unsought fame. For ten years he traveled from one educational institution to another, especially in the Middle West, attended conventions, civic, educational and religious, telling the story of his DuPage parish; and when he had a second opportunity to speak, he lectured on "Modern Methods in Country Churches." The bodies who heard him were mostly not religious in name but the story of his work was sociological and it had the same value for the banker as for the preacher. I think those days were as wonderful for us who spoke for the Country Church Department as for our audiences. There was a national awakening to "the interrelatedness of real social life." For that time religion was esteemed as a social force.

We did not, however, trust alone to the influence of oratory and the printing press. We began in 1911 to make sociological surveys, the first in Pennsylvania, the field worker being Rev. T. Maxwell Morrison. The next year we employed Rev. Clair S. Adams to survey counties in central Illinois, who still is in our work; and Ralph A. Felton to make a survey of counties in Indiana, who is now employed in the Methodist Episcopal Rural Church Department, modeled upon the Presbyterian. These surveys were made for the purpose of disclosing the social need of the church. They exhibited churches of all denominations in their predominant likenesses to one another and disclosed no differences to correspond to denominational boundaries. They revealed the geographic, economic, industrial and institutional features of the neighborhood tributary to the church, and showed the church, as resultant to all these, a dwelling place and a tribute to the Divine Spirit suitable to the life of the people who maintain it.

These surveys were a contribution to the rural social movement. They were very extensively distributed. The type they set was imitated in the rural religious surveys they were to follow. By the time Mr. Felton had written his story of the "Rural Survey in Indiana" in 1912 this standard was set, which has been the basis of the rural researches of Rev. C. O. Gill in Ohio;

whose book, "Six Thousand Country Churches," is the most brilliant story of survey; and of the publications of the Committee on Religious and Social Surveys, which continues the publications of the Interchurch World Movement in a series of volumes now being issued. Three notable survey workers, whom I engaged upon their graduation from Union Theological Seminary and the sociological classroom of Professor Giddings were Anton T. Boisen, E. Fred Eastman and Hermann N. Morse. The latter two are now my associates. For these young students the survey method had many fascinations. They did brilliant work in interpreting country life in terms both intelligible and interesting to the thoughtful reader.

The principle of measurement in religious work used in these surveys has greater possibilities of use in the future. In religious education no social measurements have been made. In the relation of religious experience to economic experience we have made only a few real comparisons. Our pioneer experience in religious measurement in the country consisted in disclosing correlations between economic experiences and religious activity; between village life, open country residence and religious activity; between tenure of farm land and religious activity. Rev. C. O. Gill extended these correlations to the fields of morbidity and morality, and Rev. Edmund deS. Brunner, Ph.D., has developed the graphic showing of the church parish in its relation to the trade basin or economic community.

The third stage of our work was the "Demonstration Parish." It was inevitable that this work, at the beginning a sociological teaching campaign, should venture into the field of church administration. The transition came about 1911. Particular churches which had been difficult to administer were offered to my department and a mode of complete control rather unique in Protestant history was created, in order to accomplish the maximum result in the supervision of community under the church. On the basis of our surveys we had been proposing that the church do community service in at least four directions beside the religious. We maintained that the church can effect results in the agricultural field, in the field of education, of health reform and of recreation. This doctrine was

popular with church people. But the church administrators threw up their hands. They, however, gave me full authority over certain sample churches for the purpose of trying out this new theory. Groups of churches of my own denomination in northeastern Missouri and western North Carolina were put under my direct control and I was given at first three, and then five, years to carry out a program of social community work by means of pastors carefully selected and trained for their work. This Demonstration Parish work has extended very widely throughout the country. It is now practiced by other denominations, notably the Methodists, Congregationalists and Baptists. It has on the whole had a gratifying success. In this year, 1923, the Directors of Country Church Work, with Professors of Rural Sociology, met in Atlantic City, and after a careful review of Demonstration Parish work approved it as a method. The features of which they approve are the following.

First. The selection and survey of a rural area within which dwell the people who can attend a given church.

Second. The discovery of possibilities of leadership in that church in its personnel, in the absence of religious competition, and in the disposition of the people to support it and obey its program.

Third. The location of a pastor pledged with his church to a program of at least five years' service.

Fourth. The Demonstration Parish is expected to contribute generously to the support of the pastor and his work.

Fifth. The pastor and the church are assured, usually from national sources, of sufficient funds to carry out the program. This involves a fair salary for the minister himself, a house to live in, and a minimum of equipment, usually including an automobile.

Sixth. The parish must have the pastor's continuous, unbroken attention, with religious service not once a month but once every Sunday, and the minister must not be required, as most country parsons are required, to preach at separate points far from his home. Furthermore, he must reside in the parish himself, bringing the influence of his family and of his affairs to bear upon his exhortation and his preaching.

There have been in this practical application of the Country Life program both successes and failures. Some communities have been set up with an excellent community equipment including residence for the minister in the country and a community house with an adequate budget of expenditures and a minister permanently settled. Notable instances are the Edgewood church near Birmingham, Alabama; the Post Falls church in Idaho; the Novato church near San Anselmo, California; the Kingston church in Madison county, Arkansas. There have been, however, not a few communities in which the program, greeted at first with enthusiasm and started sometimes with too great hopes, has been a local failure. Usually the causes are not hard to find. Very often the enthusiasm of the people encountered the retrogressive leadership of the country town and was defeated. It is fair also to say that many country communities are not fitted for an active program of religious work. The best we can expect in the line of this Demonstration Parish method is the promotion of those country churches which, as the agrarian movement develops, are awakened to their need and show ability to follow a consistent program of construction and expansion.

Another great advantage, however, in this method has been its power to break the blockade of opinion in the country; for we have not failed, even in those sections in which we did not establish a permanent organization, to awaken new hopes of country life and adequate church life in the country. The example of our failures was as stimulating as our successes, for the country people live in a degree in faith and there are many communities in the country determined to follow any example leading in the direction of a strong organization and a satisfying life for those who live on the farm and in the village. We call this method of developing an individual parish the "Demonstration Parish Plan," for it is intended to demonstrate to particular sections of the country the possibilities of contented living and of successful business on the farm and in the village.

During the past six years, since the creation of the Methodist Episcopal Department of Rural Work under Paul L. Vogt and Ralph A. Felton, the denominations have been appointing their re-

spective superintendents. I do not know whether this indicates a new kind of doctrine among the churches or not, but it would appear so. For a long time the churches were content to be served by my office and by the individual speakers whose number was increasing throughout the country. In so far as they think of their country churches it may be that from 1917 the mind of the churches has been more denominational. At the present time it appears so. One after another has appointed a Rural Superintendent. Notable among these was Dr. Rolvix Harlan, who left the presidency of a college to become the Superintendent of Rural Social Work in the Mission Board of the Northern Baptist Convention. Rev. Malcolm Dana is the Congregational Superintendent of similar work. Perhaps the most distinguished worker in this field is Rev. Edmund deS. Brunner, Ph.D., who was Chairman of the Country Life Commission of the Moravian church until he became the Director of Rural Church Work under the Interchurch World Movement, and now serves with the committee which has "salvaged the survey results" of that movement. The latest worker appointed by a religious communion of whom I have heard is Father O'Hara who holds an appointment on behalf of the country churches of the Roman Catholic faith. Professor Alva W. Taylor of the Disciple church occupies a unique position as the promoter of Rural Church Work in that body. Mr. Ralph W. Adams represents the Board of Home Missions of the Reformed Church in the United States. Rev. Robert H. Ruff is the Secretary of Rural Church Work of the Southern Methodist Church.

The strength of the sociological idea in church work is shown by the degree to which these denominational departments agree in their policy. The Congregational Church work is of the type that we call a "Large Parish." Dr. Malcolm Dana has taken one town at a time in which is a strong Congregational church, surveyed it with its surrounding trade basins and organized the service of that church as a religious center of the town and countryside. A notable instance is the town of Montrose, Colorado. A definite program of recreation, of consolidation of schools and of meetings of religious worship is carried on throughout the whole area tributary to the town in which the church is located.

The Methodist Episcopal Church under Dr. Paul L. Vogt, and the Methodist Episcopal Church South under the leadership of Rev. Robert H. Ruff, have pursued a policy that centers in administration and promotion of country points, especially those for which the Methodist Church is alone responsible, of comity relations with churches of other denominations in order to eliminate competition in the local community, and of education of the minister for his work. Mr. Ruff is promoting particular communities with a Demonstration Parish program. Both these denominations have given ample funds to the Country Life Departments. In all the Protestant denominations the social character of the work has been welcome. So far as I know none of them have suffered a check by reason of denominational interests or partizanship.

The feature of this social program for country churches in which we have been most disappointed is the one which fourteen years ago I found most men accepting—it is the agricultural service the church can render. There are a great many people in the country who believe the parson ought to farm and teach the farmer how to farm. They believe that the country church will succeed, as General Beaver said in Birmingham, Pennsylvania, thirteen years ago, "when the pastor knows how to bore a hole in the ground, and by study of the soil to determine whether to plant a Baldwin apple tree there." In spite of this expectation of many rural thinkers the pastors in the country have had little success in efforts to assist the farmer directly in production. They have in not a few cases led farmers in coöperative organization which has to do with the business side of farming. But I think the largest help the country pastor brings to the people in the country is in teaching them how to spend rather than how to make money. This is something we had to learn and few yet understand it, namely, that consumption is more important and potent in the agricultural process than production.

From the very first we recognized that a new teaching is necessary if the church is to serve a society rather than a soul. We saw clearly that if there is to be redemption for the soul and the ideas of religion are to be applied to all the people of the community whether they confess faith or

not, the minister must be differently taught. We, therefore, began in 1909 to hold something more thorough and permanent than a conference. Our one-day and two-day conferences were then a form of popular propaganda which did not cease until about the time of the world war. But the method we invented that summer is still in use. We call it the "Summer School." The first of these was held in Bellefontaine, Ohio, in a church and it was little more than a conference. Almost immediately after it, the first Summer School was held in Amherst Agricultural College under the leadership of President Kenyon L. Butterfield. Members of the faculty with the president himself were the teachers; Miss Mabel Carney being added as a champion of the country school and I as protagonist of the country church. From that school, which was attended by about forty ministers of all denominations, we projected a system of Summer Schools that has proved practicable. The largest use has been made of it by the Methodist Episcopal Board of Church Extension and Home Missions under Ralph A. Felton. They have now been assembling for the past four summers groups of ministers from one to two hundred in number for a short course at one of their schools, lasting through three weeks. The curricula offered in these schools is not denominational at all. It has little or no reference to the tenets of polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church; though the active program of the church is presented, in which the Methodists share the activities of all the Protestant churches. Most of the teaching is sociological and educational. The instructors in these classes would qualify in a denominational college or state university. Mr. Felton has done a distinguished piece of educational work in contributing to the diet of the Methodist minister those elements aforesaid confined to the bill of fare given to the students in the state universities.

The Summer Schools in the Presbyterian Church from 1909 to about 1919 took interdenominational forms. We assembled our men preferably at state universities or at those denominational colleges which were so located as to serve a wide area. We made the provision such that ministers of any denomination could participate and receive equal benefit. The instructors were carefully selected as being of college

or university grade and the topics were sociological and educational. Generally there has been no denominational teaching in these schools. The course of study has been never less than two weeks and this short period is filled full of such material as the minister will not forget. We believe that a real result has been accomplished in fixing the mind of the religious student and determining the objectives of his program. Many of these schools have been tried once and dropped, the place not being suitable and the ministers not being willing to come. A few notable instances of locations that have proved permanent are Auburn Theological Seminary; Wisconsin State University at Madison; Y. M. C. A. Camp at Estes Park, Colorado; State College of Agriculture, Eugene, Oregon; State College of Agriculture, Ames, Iowa; the State College, Pennsylvania; and the State College of Agriculture, Stillwater, Oklahoma. The Methodist Episcopal schools are held mostly in the denominational colleges of that body. Mr. Felton has secured for each of these colleges a professor of rural social work. These men have had a great influence in directing the mind of the Methodist Episcopal Church along the lines of community work.

The objective in this work is a revolutionary one. We propose to lay upon the minister a responsibility for all the people in the community about him. We hope to make him the pastor in a true sense of all the souls, whether they confess their faith or not, with whom he can come in contact as neighbor or sharer in the community life in the country or in the village. We have not yet accomplished this but there have been many contributing forces, in the period since Roosevelt's great pronouncement, which go toward giving a new state of mind. One of them is the work of C. J. Galpin of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, who has defined the country community in a way that all men could understand. We utilize his trade basin to put the village as the center of a community.

There has arisen a literature of country life in this period which promises something, although so far it has been critical and destructive. "Main Street" and a later group of articles has properly denounced the exploiting of the country village and the commercialized trade center which preys upon the minds of country people. But the time will come when authors like Will Cather will add to the books like "My Antonia" and "One of Ours." There will be more writers like Hamlin Garland who has come from the bitter criticism in "Main Traveled Roads" to the beauty and idealism of "Son of the Middle Border." These literary and scientific contributions have helped. But we believe that the work of the churches must be a large factor in creating the new idea of constructive life in the country; namely, that the country parish has an ideal and objective in religious service. When we began this form of service in 1909 there was no idea among country people but that the preacher serves the soul of the sinner. The country parson has indeed a cure of souls but we are moved with the conviction that the soul lives in the community. Therefore, the minister must live in the country with his people and be the inspirer of social work and the satisfier of individual needs, the evangel of good news. He must give the good news of the gospel of Jesus Christ to all the people. We all agree in believing who are interested in this work, that the economic, social and religious life is in the country one and indivisible with the causes which appear in home life in the form of wealth and neighborliness and create their results in the form of the church we find in the country. We, therefore, believe the religious worker must deal with those causes if he is to leave an institution in the country that will give continuing satisfaction to the people there. Therefore there must be a religious life that is satisfying, a social life that is awakened, if there is to be a country church in America.

THE RISE OF THE RURAL PROBLEM

CARL TAYLOR

RURAL SOCIOLOGY is new in the curricula of colleges and universities. Indeed it is so new that few people know what it is and what it is attempting to do. Rural social problems are new of themselves and therefore a rural sociology which attempts to describe and analyze these problems must necessarily have recently appeared. Many farm folk even yet resent the suggestion that there are rural conditions which may in any way be designated as problems. For about a decade, however, there have been few things, except the great war and possibly labor problems, about which we have heard so much as we have about "the rural problem." To some people's minds the term "rural problem" is only a shibboleth. To other people's minds it represents some specific single outstanding set of conditions which is fraught with grave dangers for the rural communities of America and possibly for all civilization. It is not worth our while to discuss in a controversial fashion these different concepts of what "the rural problem" is. We shall simply recite those things which are most often said to constitute "the rural problem" and pass on to an analysis of the forces and conditions which may have given rise to this problem, or, to be more exact, to our many modern rural problems.

ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE RURAL PROBLEM

The Drift to the City. There is little question but that the first problem to receive popular exploitation was the Urbanization process which is again called to our attention by the 1920 Census Reports and which has been going on at a rapid rate in the United States for the last thirty or forty years. Then years ago "the drift to the city" and "the rural problem" were phrases that had practically synonymous meanings in the minds of the people who were discussing rural life. The idea universally aired at that time was that this movement of rural population to the city was leaving in the rural districts, a decadent civilization, decadent because the city was robbing it of all of its best minds and most ambitious citizens. The rural problem according to these

people was, "how to keep the boy on the farm;" "how to retard the process of urbanization;" "how to uplift and generate rural civilization." Students of rural social conditions today know that with the exception of a few abandoned New England farms and the all too frequent phenomenon of the retired farmer in all sections of the nation, there is nothing in "the drift to the city" which in and of itself is keeping our agricultural population from performing efficiently its division of society's labor. "Back to the farm" is the echo of a past notion. There has never been a systematic attempt to work the slogan and there is little possibility that it would have met with any success had its advocates attempted to promote it as a practical project. Furthermore, during the great war we developed altogether too universal an appreciation of the capability and capacity of the farm class to tolerate any longer the assumption that our rural communities are decadent and our rural population in need of uplift. The "drift to the city" has been real enough, and still continues. It does not, however, in any of its immediate aspects present a serious "rural problem." American farms are producing more in annual products than at any previous time. American farmers are producing more per man than any farm population of the earth. Furthermore, they are producing more per acre than any previous generation of American farmers has ever produced. In 1919 the American farmers produced a total value of \$19,856,000,000 in farm products.¹ Production per acre has increased about one-half per cent per year in the United States for the last twenty-five years.² New England farms which are said to be suffering from soil depletion and from which the population is said to be drifting to the city produced 26 per cent more of their eight leading crops in the ten year period between 1909-1918 than they did in that of 1866-1875. When we compare the American farmer with farmers of other countries, we find that he produces 2.3 times as much per man as the English

¹ Year Book of the Department of Agriculture 1920. P. 806.

² American Year Book of Agriculture, 1919. Pages 17-25.

farmer, 2.5 times as much as the Belgian farmer, 2.5 times as much as the German farmer, 3.2 times as much as the French farmer, and 6 times as much as the Italian farmer.³ Apparently the "drift to the city" has not thwarted progress and efficiency in farming to any great degree, nor has the rural population absolutely decreased at any decade in our national life. We have today over one and one-half million more people living in rural districts than we had a decade ago and over six million more than we had twenty years ago. With a greater population, a greater gross production, a greater per capita and greater per acre production, it is little short of sophistry to assert that the urbanization of American society has left us a degenerate rural population, at least so far as numbers and productive capacity are concerned.

That the urbanization and industrialization of America has had its effect on farm progress, farm organization, and even farm prosperity can scarcely be denied, however. Our cities have grown much more rapidly in both population and production than has our open country. City occupations and industries regularly out-bid farming for man power and money power. People seem to be more willing and more anxious to pay for the products of the city than for the products of the farm. A universal knowledge that these things are true has done much to give city populations, city standards of life and city culture a dominant position in the thinking and ambition of the nation. An urbanization of our whole national life in this way has been going on almost from the beginning of our national existence. It has moved with increasing acceleration during the last seventy or eighty years. Farmers are not sentimentally concerned about the drift of population to our cities. They may not universally be cognizant of the urbanization of our economic processes, monetary rewards, and standards of culture, but they are gradually becoming aware of the fact that industrialization, urbanization or something else has developed an economic regime which fails to remunerate them adequately for their goods and labors. They may not analyze all of the conditions in their cause and effect relations, but they are vaguely aware of an unsatisfactory adjustment to modern stand-

ards of life and quite keenly aware of the unfavorable comparison which exists between themselves and the upper classes of our city population.

There are two possible explanations of this urbanization of our economic and social life. One is that our farmers in the past may have more nearly produced the maximum amount of their share of economic goods than have other occupations and industries. If it is overproduction that is the cause of meagre rewards for the producers of raw goods, then the remedy is to let farm production lag until the income from the farming occupation is sufficiently remunerative to make farmers the successful bidders for labor power and money power in the open labor and money markets of the country. The other explanation is that the city and city industries are not competing in the open markets according to the law of supply and demand, but are so organized that they can offer prices and attraction to men and for investments which are all out of proportion to their value and usefulness to society. If this be true, then America is urbanized and industrialized to a point of danger and action on the part of the government or on the part of powerfully organized groups of farmers, alone can break the city's monopoly of the attention, time and energy of the nation.

It is doubtful if the urbanization of modern society can be checked. The process is an inevitable part of the industrialization of society. Some of the outstanding characteristics of this industrialization are the refining of goods and the distributing of them in world markets, the development of surplus and the constant appearance of new human wants. Simply stated, then, the cause of urbanization is this: It takes a larger per cent of our population to carry on the refining and distributing processes of society today than it did yesterday and will probably take an even greater per cent tomorrow. Unless, therefore, we want to retard these two economic processes, we do not want to retard, to any marked extent, the drift to the city. Furthermore, to do so would be to demand a retrenchment of our expanding human desires for refined goods. Our rising standard of living would suffer because of such a retrenchment and our farmers rather than being better rewarded would be forced to take

³ Butterfield, "The Farmer and the New Day." Page 10.

lower prices for their products because of the comparative increase in raw products and comparative decrease in refined products. If we have developed in American society a false or futile standard of living which is leading us to remunerate the producers of refined goods, even of luxuries, better than we remunerate the producers of raw goods, then we do indeed have a problem which results more or less directly from the urbanization of society, for the making of refined goods and luxuries is wholly a city process and occupation. But this problem is not the "rural problem" or even any part of it so far as farming or farm people are concerned. It is, however, a social problem of national importance. The attempt to solve it should be made by attacking at the luxury consuming end and at the point where luxury fortunes are being made, not by turning immigrants onto the farm to compete with the American farmer or by refusing all farm boys and girls admittance to city life.

Rural Isolation. A more recent attempt to reduce the rural situation to a single problem analysis has resulted in the slogan "rural isolation," as the proper characterization of the rural problem. Some of the statements most often heard which represent this belief are to the effect that the farmer is conservative, superstitious, orthodox, individualistic, narrow, etc., because he is out of the stream of civilization. Boys and girls are said to be leaving the farm because they loathe the isolation and lonesomeness of the farm. Farmers are beaten in the world's markets and the world's legislative forums because they haven't established working contacts with each other and with other classes of people. Assertions have even been made, though not backed with proof, that farm women have greatly increased our suicide and insanity rates because of the loneliness of farm life.

Without question, isolation on the farm presents a sharp contrast to the congestion of the city. Whether it is to be more deplored than the congestion of the city is doubtful. The fact that farmers have not enjoyed the contact with other farm families and with people of other occupations and professions has been a serious check to farm progress and is probably more truly an index to all rural problems than any one other thing. Furthermore the farmer himself has come

to recognize and appreciate this fact. The development of better means of communication and better modes of transportation have recently established contacts between farmers themselves and between farmers and other classes. These contacts are not only appreciated by the farmers but have given rise to a desire for more contacts. The farmer today has for the most part come to recognize his condition of isolation as a problem that needs solving. It is doubtful whether he has ever recognized the urbanization process in any of its aspects as a farmer's problem.

Rural Coöperation. Probably the only other slogan that has held anything like equal sway with the two just characterized is that which has gone under the general term "coöperation." This slogan has probably been more thoroughly popularized in the last decade than either of the other two. It has not only been preached by all people who claimed to have an interest in rural welfare but has been quite universally adopted by the farmers themselves. Farm people have felt that this is a problem which is their own. They have accepted it because it expresses not a criticism of rural life but a solution for rural problems. They are convinced that they must coöperate in order to get the new contacts which they have come to desire; that they must coöperate even to carry on their own occupation in an up-to-date fashion. It is questionable, however, whether coöperation has until recently been more than a working hypothesis. It has in some cases become almost a religious shibboleth. It is as a slogan, a shibboleth, or a religion that it has been hailed as a solution of the rural problem. As a slogan or shibboleth it has had great propagandic effect, most of which has made for a more satisfactory and desirable farm life. Without the slogan of coöperation little would have been accomplished in the past and without it in the future doubtless no rural program will ever be attempted. It would be a rather meaningless and indefinite statement, however, to say that "coöperation" is the rural problem.

There is probably no other fact or single set of conditions which has caught the popular mind in the same degree as the three just mentioned. "The drift to the city" and "rural isolation" as rural conditions and "coöperation" as a rural program have, to the popular mind, been the es-

sence of the "rural problem." Each of these, however, is a mere index to a far more complex set of conditions than they themselves describe and to rural problems so numerous that they must be classified and sub-classified for the sake of adequate analysis. The rural problem is not one problem but many problems combined and interwoven to such a degree that a single definition is impossible and a single solution may not be looked for.

WHAT GAVE RISE TO THE RURAL PROBLEM

There are two chief processes which have been mainly responsible for the rise of that set of conditions and desires which go under the name "the rural problem." These are the growing recognition of the difference between rural and urban life and the change in the rural situation itself. It is not that the breach between urban and rural life has widened but that farmers have become more and more aware of what city people are and what they enjoy. To these two processes there must be added a third, viz: the impetus and interest which have been developed by the establishment of institutions and agencies to study and promote the welfare and efficiency of the farming class. In fact, for a proper comprehension of any or all of these problems, it is necessary to understand the numerous developments which have given rise to and conditioned the nature of the so called "rural problem."

Difference Between Urban and Rural Life. The most universal thing in brewing the "rural problem" is the growing recognition of the difference between urban and rural life and between urban and rural people. This has led to the belief that urban life is more to be desired than rural life. The drift to the city, whether good or bad and whether regarded a rural problem or not, is indicative of the belief that urban life is more to be desired than rural life. People move from the open country into the city for many and various reasons but always because they believe the city contains the things they individually desire in a larger measure than the country does. That thousands of these people find themselves living in undesirable conditions after they reach the city should not obscure the fact that the city does attract people by its superior schools, churches, literature, art and

other social attractions. Wages paid wholly in cash and hours which are comparatively short attract people to the city. Modern industry has opened up fine business opportunities and developed great fortunes in the city. These facts have become universally known. The fact that not all the people of the city participate in these opportunities and fortunes is not so well known. The consequence is that the economic opportunities are thought to be superior to those of the country. The multiplied amusements, bright lights, street cars, side walks, and clean clothes of the city are easily contrasted with conditions of rural living.

A study made by the writer of 1,470 heads of families and individuals not attached to families who have moved from the open country to a number of Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia towns within the last ten years reveals the fact that 524 went to the city to participate in what they expected to be greater economic opportunities; 396 went to avail themselves or their children of better educational advantages; 226 went to participate in a livelier and better organized social life; and, 232 retired to the city because of old age or because they had accumulated enough wealth to live in comparative idleness the remainder of their lives. The remaining 92 families gave the following reasons: failing health or incapacity to do farm work, marriage with men with city occupations, death of the farm entrepreneur or bread winner. This body of statistics while not large probably fairly represents the facts. In a vast majority of the cases these people have voluntarily left the farms for towns and cities because they believed that urban life in some one specific aspect or in all its aspects is to be preferred to rural life.

Closer Contacts Between the Urban and Rural Groups. One of the important factors which has precipitated discussion and thought on the numerous social problems of rural communities and which lies back of a belief in the desirability of rural life is the almost sudden development of a number of means of communication between country and city. The coming of the rural telephone, the free rural delivery, the interurban and the automobile has brought the urban and

rural groups face to face. The result has been the sudden rise of a consciousness on the part of the rural population that civilization has developed many desirable things which the city alone enjoys. This consciousness is not a consciousness of a decadent rural life but of a life which suffers in comparison with life in the city; of a life which has not availed itself of many of the good things which modern civilization holds in store for it. One example of these modern means of developing urban social contacts should be sufficient at this point. In 1907 there were 1,464,000 rural telephones in the United States. In 1920 there were 3,156,000.⁴ It is only a slight exaggeration to say that in 1890 there were none.

The contacts gained through these means of communication have given rural people standards and desires which they did not previously have. The establishment of these standards and desires has created the problem of fulfilling these desires and attaining these standards.

The Diminishing Self-Sufficiency of the American Farm. It was a psychological impossibility for the "rural problem" to present itself to the minds of the country people so long as American farms were entirely self-sufficient. Problems arise with increasing adjustments. To say that the self-sufficiency of the farm is diminishing is but another way of saying that farm life is becoming an inter-relation of town and country life. The development and differentiation of industrial processes has automatically removed many processes from the farm to the city. Spinning, weaving, shoe cobbling, tailoring, tool and implement making have been absolutely removed to the city. Even such processes as sewing, canning, butter making and baking have been transferred to some degree from the farm home to factory, mill, and bake shop. Others will follow. The division of labor, which began no one knows how long ago, has changed the face of the country-side as well as the face of the rest of civilization, and still more and more minute divisions of the processes of production and manufactures are still in progress. On the whole this process has been as beneficial to the farmer and his family as to any one else. It has left him free to specialize in the production of raw materials and this specialization in no small way accounts for his increased

efficiency. His increased efficiency in turn has made it possible for him to sell his products in the world markets and with the money received for them to buy more of the world's goods than he could ever have enjoyed under a system in which he supplied all his own and his family's needs out of his own fields, flocks and herds. To say that he is now specializing in the production of raw goods is but another way of saying that he is depending on other people to furnish him with finished goods. He is more efficient under this system but less self-sufficient.

The diminishing self-sufficiency of the farm has thrown the farmer into contact with other people and these contacts have been mainly with city people. He is now acquainted with both rural and city life. He is dependent upon city people as well as upon rural people and so he is interested in the people and the processes of the city.

The Desire to Be of Equal Status With Urbanites. The interest which the people of the farm now take in the city market and city people is not confined to the goods which are bought from city people. Contacts with the city and its mode of life has made farmers highly conscious of the fact that the country lacks many worth while and enjoyable things which city people have. The paved streets, street cars and electric lights are practically all in the city. Clean clothes, leisure, art, literature, and amusement centers are found chiefly in the city. Furthermore, the people who are permitted by circumstance and opportunity to participate in these desirable things are thought to be more urbane, polite, civil and sophisticated than those who are without them. Farm people for the most part do not believe that city people are superior to themselves but they know that society at large considers the social status of the people of affairs and leisure in the city to be superior to the social status of the farmer and his family. While farmers resent this attitude they nevertheless are both consciously and unconsciously striving to alter the attitude and the situation which has given rise to it. They desire, and rightfully so, to be of equal status with the urbanites. This desire and how to satisfy it are part of the rising "rural problem."

⁴ Statistics furnished by American Telephone and Telegraph Company, New York City.

CHANGES IN THE RURAL SITUATION ITSELF

The Loss of Soil Fertility. The factors thus far mentioned which have served to brew the rural problem are mainly psychological and social. There have been in addition to them some factors more historical, geographical, and physical in their nature which have contributed materially to the rise of the rural problem. Rural people themselves need the good things which the other half has, but they are living in a rural situation which itself is different from that of fifty or even twenty years ago. The problem of the loss of soil fertility with the incident possibility of the destruction of the very foundation of the occupation of farming itself is a recent problem. The great agricultural areas of the United States have been under cultivation long enough for us to have robbed the soil of much of its native fertility, and in certain sections, to have completely depleted the soil of some of its most fundamental elements. Five million acres of land once under cultivation in the Southern States have been completely abandoned for real farming purposes. Lands that at one time produced fine crops on the basis of native fertility must now be encouraged by the use of commercial fertilizers. Soil erosion of lands which have been long under cultivation has forced these lands into pastures, meadows and forests. Farmers can no longer mine the soil. They must husband and nurture it. The knowledge of these facts has brought the farmer and the nation to an attitude toward the occupation of farming, toward the function of the farmer and the future of the farm enterprise which is different from anything that was in existence a few decades ago. This attitude is one of serious questioning and of serious analysis and its development has done much to set the stage for the entrance of the rural problem.

The Limits of the Agricultural Frontier Reached. So long as there were new and fertile land areas adjacent to those which were being depleted the robbing of the soil of its original elements was of little moment. So long as there was a Great West, to which population might move, the exhaustion of the old agricultural areas did not raise any immediate problems beyond those of the migration of people and the construction of transportation and communica-

tion facilities between their new homes and the established markets of the developed areas. When, however, the moving tide of land seekers struck the Pacific coast and turned back upon itself, we became cognizant of the fact that there were limits to our national agricultural expansion. From that time on we were confronted with the problem of producing the food supply for our present and future population upon the areas under cultivation or at least upon acres within the boundaries of the populated regions. It was at this era in our national history that the tragedy of soil depletion became apparent. The population in our rural districts became more dense. Our farms grew smaller. Many young men and young women who a few years before would have moved west and continued to live on farms, now began to drift cityward. The skimming and mining of the soil was no longer profitable and with its unprofitableness arose the problem of how to check the process and if possible to repair the damage done.

With the passing of the frontier and the increasing density of population in rural areas came also the passing of the individual exclusiveness of the farmer. His neighbors were on every hand. Villages sprang up at his very door. Great cities developed within his reach. All of these things increased his contacts with people and his increased contacts with people made him a different type of man from the old frontiersman. His life became more complex in every way. He had new adjustments to make and new problems to solve. These new adjustments and new problems are the very essence of the "rural problem."

The Influence Upon the Rural Problem of the Growing Magnitude of the Nation. At about the same time that these new adjustments and new problems referred to came to be clearly recognized by the American farmers, another series of developments established the United States as a recognized world power. Our war with Spain in 1898 announced this fact to the world. It was not this war, however, which was the cause of our rise as a world power. The development of our factories and our great export trade had already given us standing with the other nations of the world. We had all the time been playing a great part in the world production but it had

been in the production of raw goods which were supplementary to the great manufacturing enterprises of other nations. Now in addition to offering other nations the raw products for their factories, we established businesses which were competing with them. As competitors they had to recognize us in a way in which they had not recognized us up to this time. The manufacturers in our own nation now came to look upon the farm enterprise in the same way as the whole world had in the past looked upon America—i. e. as the producers of the raw materials which were essential to the maintenance of factory processes. Because of a recognition of these facts these manufacturers became interested in the occupation of farming. Foreign manufacturers became more intensely interested in American agriculture because now it had to furnish not only them but also the American manufacturer with raw goods. The efficiency and future of the American farm was a problem in which they were vitally interested. The issue of American farm production became a subject for discussion in many circles outside of farming communities. Some great American cities established agencies for encouraging and assisting in the development of the agricultural regions from which they drew their raw materials. Transportation companies, railroads and express companies, recognized their dependence upon the farm enterprise and so established agricultural extension departments. Until this wider interest developed in what the farmers were doing and what the farms were producing any statesman who plead the cause of the American farmer was considered merely a politician bidding for the farmer vote. Now the vastly wider importance of agriculture was seen. The problem of the American farm became a national and even an international problem of the supply of raw materials for factories and of food supplies for people.

The rise of America to a prominent place among the nations of the world not only gave the rest of the nation and other nations an interest in the American farm, but also gave the American farmer himself a deeper appreciation of his worth to society and a clearer appreciation of his function in society. Seeing his relationship to other industries gave him an interest in what was going on in these other lines of enterprise.

Protective tariffs and other governmental schemes for assisting the manufacturers caused him to take a deeper interest in what the government was doing, not all of which was of unquestioned good for the farmer. These other industries, already well established, began to bid against the farmer. They bid against him for the capital and investment power of the nation. Gradually he began to see his relations to other sections of the population and to other industries. He now sees clearly that he was of great significance to the nation and to the world and that the nation and the world are of no small significance to him. When the nations of the world recognized the United States as a world power they incidentally recognized the American farmer in a very special way. This recognition by others and this discovery of himself presented to the farmers many new problems to be solved and many new adjustments to be made.

INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES TO PROMOTE FARM WELFARE

Not least among the causes of the rise of the rural problem was the establishment of a set of institutions and agencies for the very purpose of discovering and solving farm problems. These agencies and institutions have been working for a number of years to convince farmers and other groups of our population of the fundamental importance of the agricultural enterprise. Some of them have been working steadily and with increased effectiveness for eighty years.⁵ These constant efforts, ever enlarging programs and increasing numbers of agencies were bound to bear fruit. A series of national legislative acts which began as far back as 1861 took an increased significance with their rapid expansion of programs and funds from about 1890 on. In 1889 the United States Department of Agriculture was raised to an executive position and its chief officer made a member of the President's Cabinet. A report of an investigation by the United States Department of Agriculture which brings the data up to 1920 shows 65 national agricultural organizations, 143 interstate organizations, and 1,761 organizations of state scope.⁶ These organizations and associations have developed, expanded

⁵ Bailey, L. H., *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*. Vol. IV. Page 328.

⁶ Taylor, H. C., *Directory of American Agricultural Organizations*, (Washington, Government Printing Office—1920).

and projected programs which include every phase of farm experience, from those which have to do with the most technical farm processes to many whose purpose it is to propagate and develop rural social institutions and even rural ideals. Very recently the great farm organizations such as the American Farm Bureau Feder-

ation and the great Growers' Coöperative Marketing organizations have served to heighten the rural consciousness of hundreds of thousands of farmers. We may expect, therefore, that rural social problems will become more and more numerous as these agencies and organizations become more potent and active.

PSYCHIC MECHANISMS AND SOCIAL RADICALISM

ELLERY FRANCIS REED

LIKE THE body the mind operates according to certain orderly processes. These bear a striking resemblance to the working of an infinitely complicated machine. These mental processes are, hence, appropriately called mental mechanisms. The operation of these mechanisms is much affected by the physical condition and the social environment of the individual.

There is not space here to review as causes of social radicalism the bad social conditions, the unintelligent and autocratic treatment of labor or the limitations and handicaps imposed by nature on many workers. All these conditions, unfortunately exist on an extensive scale and constitute the social forces which result in radicalism. But we can not well understand the operation of these forces until we have gained an insight into the hidden operations of the human mind. The mind is the medium through which these forces operate.

The mechanisms involved in the activities of the human mind are well nigh universal. They are indeed extremely delicate and intricate and are affected by an infinite variety of circumstances both hereditary and environmental, but in and of themselves, these mental processes or mechanisms are essentially the same in the educated and the uneducated, the rich and the poor, the employer and the employee. There are indeed hereditary differences. All people do not react in the same way to the environmental conditions. But assuming some knowledge of hereditary and social conditions it is not until certain psychic mechanisms are studied that radicalism stands revealed as directly or indirectly the

natural, inevitable, human result of unfortunate personal and social conditions. These mental mechanisms as they operate in the production of radicalism constitute the subject of this paper.

A certain mental mechanism known as the *transfer of affect* may be noted first. It helps to explain autocratic labor management as a cause of radicalism. It is by means of this mechanism that an emotion of love, fear, or anger may, under certain circumstances, be transferred from one person or object to another. We all know of the business man who comes into his office in an angry mood and "takes it out" on his stenographer or office boy; or the man who comes home in such a mood and soon finds some trivial cause for an explosion of anger toward wife or child, although in reality the victims have not been the cause of his anger.

Social conditions make emotional outlets along certain lines impracticable. When a man feels, for instance, that he is insulted or abused by his employer, "he knows," as an old expression puts it, "which side his bread is buttered on," and, especially if he is a man with a family, the natural or direct outlet for his anger is blocked. He will inhibit the primitive impulse to attack his employer and do him physical violence. If he is a man of good judgment he will refrain also from angry words. Such words, it is true, would form an outlet for his anger and would be preferable to the blows which the autonomic nervous system under such circumstances "tunes up" the whole organism to give. But if this torrent of angry words to his employer is blocked, he may go home and, relaxing his inhibitions, be cross and irritable to his family. He is most likely, of

course, to seek the sympathy of his wife while he fumes against his employer. If he is a man without home or family he will relieve his feelings against his employer in the presence of his companions, who in sympathy, usually relate similar grievances in similarly strong language. If, now, our hypothetical subject walks down the street and hears some I. W. W. or Bolshevik agitator pouring forth torrents of scathing denunciation against employers, against capitalism and the wages system, he is in a mood to applaud the speaker. His anger against his own "boss" is easily transferred or directed against the whole existing order of society. The skilful agitator easily succeeds in making the mistakes of the individual employer appear as the natural and inevitable products of capitalism.

For the laborer, the "boss" is the tangible agent of capitalism. The constant association of the two sets up in the mind of the worker a conditioned reflex so that a stimulus to anger against one is reacted to by anger against the other as well. A natural anger reaction against his employer is found for the worker in identifying himself with a radical movement which is feared and hated by employers generally, his own among them. Such doctrines as the confiscation of the instruments of production, the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat are definite, ready prepared anger reactions for workers with a grievance against their employers.

Another mental mechanism which plays a prominent part in the causation of radicalism is known as the *defense mechanism*. It constitutes the chief resource of the psyche when the life urges or instincts are hopelessly blocked. Its immediate function is to avoid or minimize the pain caused by this blocking. It is operative in all people and manifests itself according to the nature of the individual and the circumstances of his experience. By this mechanism the mind defends itself from unhappiness just as the physical organism, by crouching, hiding, running and dodging defends itself from physical harm.

This mechanism manifests itself in various ways. One of the most common is that of forgetting unpleasant things. The things which the memory usually allows to drop into oblivion soonest are those which have caused unhappi-

ness. So the former days seem better than the present.

This defense mechanism has not only a passive but also an active phase. It does not limit itself to the hiding reaction, as in forgetting, but takes the aggressive and attacks the enemy from the flank. The various urges demand satisfaction. The energy generated in connection with the instincts can not be permanently or completely blocked. Denied an outlet in one direction the waters will gradually rise till they find an outlet in another. It is in this phase of the mental life that the *compensatory mechanism* is found to play an important part.

Modern social radicalism is in the majority of cases a compensatory reaction which is the result of blocking the fundamental urges. Bad social conditions and personal weaknesses are responsible for unduly severe repressions. The result is that many individuals in the effort to satisfy their instinctive desires seek satisfaction in unnatural ways. One of the unnatural or indirect outlets is social radicalism. Radicalism is of course only one of a number of reactions to bad social and personal conditions. In not a few cases the individual may find compensation for blocked urges in such varied reactions as music, poetry, religion, neurotic phantasy, or even crime. But the modern industrial worker is not unlikely to accept one or another form of radicalism as an outlet for blocked urges because it offers excellent material for the functioning of the compensatory mechanism. There is a strong mental conflict stirred up in many workers by the discrepancy between their fundamental desires and the realities of the situation which prevents the realization of those desires. When this situation remains permanent or when the laborer despairs of bettering it by direct efforts this mental mechanism of compensation comes into play to prevent him from a serious mental breakdown, and radicalism offers a compensatory outlet directly related to the economic struggle.

Social radicalism furnishes for the balked laborer a compensatory emotional outlet because it promises to him the fulfillment of his desires. Radical propaganda paints in lurid colors the evils of the present order and contrasts it with the picture of a transformed society in which the laborer lives and works under conditions which

enable him to be all that he desires. The dream of a socialist commonwealth is supplemented with a program of action for its attainment. When the laborer finds the fulfillment of his fundamental desires hopelessly repressed by the world of reality he may turn to social radicalism as the only hope of attaining his ends.

A similar aspect of the compensatory reaction is noted by Stevenson in his essay on *Popular Authors*. Here he speaks of the characteristics of stories which appeal to the popular mind. In speaking of those that he had read in *The Young Ladies Journal*, he says: "The tales were not ill done;—There was only one difference, only one thing to remind me I was in the land of penny numbers instead of the parish of three volumes; disguise it as the authors pleased (and they showed ingenuity in doing so) it was always the same tale they must relate; the tale of a poor girl ultimately married to a peer of the realm or (at the worst) a baronet. The circumstance is not common in life; but how familiar to the musings of the bar-maid; the tales were not true to what men see; they were true to what the readers dreamed. . . . Let us try to remember how fancy works in children. . . . It seems to be not much otherwise with uneducated readers. They long, not to enter the lives of the others, but to behold themselves in changed situations, ardently but impotently preconceived. The imagination of the popular author here comes to the rescue, supplies some body of circumstance to these phantom aspirations, and conducts the readers where they will."

The mechanism of compensation is here at work in a way so similar to its operation in producing radicalism that we could almost tell the story of the effectiveness of radical propaganda by substituting in this account the term "radical propagandist" instead of "popular author." The radical propagandist paints a picture of an ideal, or Utopian, commonwealth and sets it over against the hopelessness of the existing order. In his Utopia the workers shall rule. Exploitation shall cease, and all men who work shall be equal. In the Utopian commonwealth the workers see themselves as they would like to be.

This same mental mechanism of compensation is seen at work in dreams, and radicalism is, in certain aspects, a day dream. Uneducated people,

or minds untrained in the objective study of the problems of society may easily become the victims of visionary plans. They readily adopt a faith which is essentially a dream of compensatory or wish-fulfilling sort.

Psychoanalysis has shown that dreams are often wish fulfillments. This is seen clearly in the dreams of children. The same is true of adults but the real nature of their dreams is hidden by a complicated symbolism. But in their thinking many persons physically mature are little different from children. The child not only goes directly to the point of his dream, he dreams in his waking hours and in his play lives out his dreams. The child's world is a world of fancy superimposed upon the world of hard reality which the adult comes to know. The child, thirsting for new experiences and new thrills, thus compensates for the stupid sobriety and prosaic qualities which would otherwise characterize for him the vast world of reality.

Primitive people are in this respect like children. Myths, legends and folk-lore are the day dreams of the childhood of the race. The heroes of the legends represent early popular ideals and their feats are symbolic of deep emotional longings of the people.

These dreams and legends represent the operation of the compensatory or the defense mechanism. For the great majority of people the world of reality has been a hard one to face. Life has been a long and severe struggle. Wants and desires have far outrun actual realization. Myths and legends have absorbed the attention of innumerable peoples and have turned their eyes toward a golden age in the past when men were little less than gods and when all human desires were wondrously fulfilled.

The same mechanism of compensation is readily recognized as producing the Utopias. These dreams of a perfect world have generally been the product of sensitive souls who saw and felt keenly all the ugliness and pain and hopelessness common to life in the world of reality. They have sought refuge and compensation in building in imagination a perfect world, and innumerable readers have found surcease of disappointment by travelling through these "realms of gold."

It is only a step from this building of Utopias to the creation of modern radical movements. The same psychology has produced both. There is much of the Utopian element in social radicalism. The differences between Utopianism and radicalism arise out of changes in social conditions and viewpoints which distinguish the modern period from that which went before.

Radical propaganda depicts the Utopian commonwealth which will be attained by the overthrow of the present order and the enforcement of a program of action in which the laborers will have liberty, economic security, leisure, and the other good things of life. Those who have waxed rich in the present order will be obliged to work if they are to eat. The wealth which has been taken from the laborer by the rich will be returned to its rightful owners. The proletariat will be the rulers of the earth. All this is a Utopian dream produced and maintained as a living faith by the mechanism of compensation.

Another aspect of the defense mechanism which is prominent in the causation of radicalism is known as the *reaction of justification*. By reason of the operation of this mechanism the laborer is inclined to blame society or the economic system, rather than himself, for his failure to fulfill his life interests. The reaction of justification is almost universal. To accept the blame for our own failures wounds the ego. Innumerable examples of this reaction may be found in everyday life. It is a universal tendency to shift the responsibility or blame for unfortunate results to someone else, in army phraseology, "to pass the buck."

This mechanism or reaction of justification is seen vividly in the case of a criminal interviewed by Dr. White. In giving an account of the case he says: "I was talking a short time since to a man who has been sentenced to life imprisonment for manslaughter. He had killed a man by stabbing him in a quarrel. I questioned him for the purpose of seeing just how he felt with regard to this act. In the first place he was very emphatic in his blame of the deceased for picking a quarrel with him. He was very much bigger than the prisoner so the only way he could adequately defend himself was with some weapon. The deceased knew this and was virtually taking his life in his own hands when he started the

trouble. Then again the doctor didn't treat the wound as he should have. The man came to his death really through his own foolhardiness and the lack of skill of the physician. This was all told with a smiling countenance and without the remotest suggestion that the man blamed himself in the least."

This reaction of justification is typical of radical doctrines. All the misery of the laboring class is blamed on the capitalists and the capitalist system. The laborer is thus released of all personal responsibility for his hardships. Radical propaganda presents a body of doctrine which answers the need of and furnished material for the defense mechanism whereby the disaffected laborer finds gratifying comfort in an escape from conscience and honest self-criticism.

Another psychic mechanism which tends to produce radicalism is that of *sympathy*. This mechanism is that by which we vividly imagine ourselves in the place of the injured person, going through with him the same suffering and the same fear and anger reactions. It is because of this sympathy mechanism that the injuries, injustice, and suffering of any part of the laboring class reacts to create class feeling, animosity, and radicalism in other members of that class. It is likewise true that many persons of the middle and upper classes who have a broad social consciousness are moved to moral indignation and radical resentment by the oppression and exploitation of laborers. This sometimes goes so far as to cause a definite commitment of such persons to radical movements.

The *rational processes* may be said to constitute another psychic mechanism which plays an important part in the socialism or communism of many upper and middle class radicals. This is true to such an extent that in radical circles they are commonly known as "the intellectuals" of the movement. Socialism has a considerable number of followers who are such largely because they have given much study to social problems and become convinced that the present social order is fundamentally wrong and must undergo radical reconstruction before social justice can be attained. The list of intellectual radicals comprises some famous names, among them, Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle, Rodbertus, H. G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw, Sydney and Beatrice

Webb, and G. D. H. Cole. The radicalism of such persons can not be accounted for by any necessary hardships and repressions due to poverty or personal weakness, but rather to intellectual convictions fired by broad human sympathy and moral indignation.

Five psychological mechanisms have been mentioned which make it inevitable that many laborers and some persons of the middle and upper classes will become radicals. These mechanisms or processes have been designated as, the transfer of affect, compensation, reaction of justification, sympathy, and logical thought. These mechanisms are set in motion by the social forces

and personal conditions to which many people, particularly of the working class, are subject. The general psychological attitude necessary for becoming a radical is thus induced. It then only remains for radical agitation and propaganda to do its work in order that radical movements may burst forth into full strength and vigor.

Propaganda plays an important part in the causation of radicalism but it is merely the final link in a chain of causes. It is, itself, caused by the social and personal processes which have been discussed, and such propaganda would be futile if it did not reach others who were in the grip of the same forces.

Teaching and Research in the Social Sciences

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

TRAINING FOR RURAL LEADERSHIP: I. THE MISSOURI PLAN

E. L. MORGAN

THE UNIVERSITY of Missouri assumes that its prime function is that of the training of leaders for the various activities and citizenship needs of the state. In years past it has sought to fulfill this mission in relation to Medicine, Law, Engineering, Agriculture, Business, etc. A few years ago it entered the field of training for urban social service through the establishment of the Missouri School of Social Economy in St. Louis.

During the past two years it has been engaged in developing a plan of leadership training in Rural Public Welfare. This plan includes a curriculum and special fieldwork for each of the following lines of professional work: County Superintendent of Public Welfare, Charity Organization Secretary, Probation Officer, School Attendance Officer, County Young Womens' Christian Association Secretary, Chamber of Commerce Secretary, County Agricultural and Home Demonstration Agents, Boy Scout and Camp Fire Executives, and Executives in Religious Education.

A professor was placed in charge of training for rural social service and a field work supervisor employed who gives his entire time to students in their field work relations. The following curriculum in the school of Business and Public Administration is arranged primarily for the training of rural social workers whose requirements include family case work.

	Credit hours
Social pathology	3
Criminology	3
Child welfare	3
Rural sociology	3
Rural community organization	2
Methods of social work	2
History of social work	2

Field work	10
Application of principles of rural economics.....	2
Preventive medicine	2
Educational psychology	3
Psychological tests	3
Abnormal and defective children	1
American state government	3
Genetics and evolution	2
Leadership	3
Electives	13

The sixty hours work here provided occupies the student in his Junior and Senior years. Those desiring to enter urban social work may take a part of their work at the urban training center in St. Louis (referred to above). Through electives and possible substitutions this curriculum is adapted to the training of the various executives previously mentioned.

Field work consists of two kinds: First, field work in Community Organization in which the student observes and participates in community activities under supervision and with the sanction of the community. In exceptional cases the student assumes responsibility for the direction of some activity in which the community is engaged. Extreme care is exercised that the community be not vitiated for the sake of the student. Second, field work with local or county agencies where the student participates in the regular work of the agency especially in its organization and administrative aspects. Such field work is now provided in connection with the Boone County Farm Bureau, the Cole County Superintendent of Public Welfare, and the Public Welfare society, Chamber of Commerce, the Young Womens' Christian Association, the Public School, the Boy Scouts and Camp Fires and the churches in the city of Columbia.

Students are required to give six hours per week to field work for two hours of credit. All

those doing field work meet weekly in seminar with the field work director in addition to regular personal conferences. During the past two years students to the number of 119 have participated in some form of field work.

It should not be inferred that complete professional training is provided in all the professional fields mentioned. A coöperative arrangement is maintained with the Young Womens' Christian Association, The American City Bureau and the Boy Scouts whereby students may complete their necessary training. In the remainder however the student goes from University work directly into his work.

This plan of training seeks to give emphasis to three things:

1. An intimate knowledge of Country Life in

its social, economic and general public welfare aspects together with its urban relations.

2. A knowledge of the principles and modern practice of Rural Social Organization including the work of the various National, State and local agencies having a rural program.

3. A thorough training in the principles and technique of the discovery, enlistment and development of rural leadership.

There have been a number of local conditions and circumstances which have had to be taken into account and which have in part determined the course pursued. The plan is not complete either in its breadth of scope or in its intensity of development. It marks however the beginning of an effort at the University of Missouri to provide professional training for its future rural leaders.

TRAINING FOR RURAL LEADERSHIP: II. THE NORTH CAROLINA PLAN

WILEY B. SANDERS¹

THE DESCRIPTION of the ideals and plans of any professional school of social work for training students in rural field work, and rural family case work, must necessarily fall short of actual accomplishments. While the School of Public Welfare has not progressed far as yet in its field work definite and worth while beginnings have been made. Training for social work is at best a difficult task even in cities with their ever growing numbers of highly specialized social agencies, and when training schools undertake to train social workers for rural districts, where the student at any time is confronted with a bewildering variety of social problems with a singular absence of social agencies upon which to call for assistance in solving these problems, the obstacles seem almost insurmountable. A student of rural social work, therefore, not only is required to perform certain tasks of personal and social adjustment, but is compelled to a large extent to create the tools with which he works. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand how the initiative of the student may become palsied at the sheer formidability of the

task before him or else be stimulated to unusual activity. The opportunity for personal growth in service is, therefore, almost unlimited for the student in the rural field.

North Carolina offers an ideal opportunity for a pioneering venture in rural social work, as is evident by the following description of the natural conditions and the social organization of the state; as well as its progressive attitudes.

1. The state is primarily rural with three-fourths of its population living in rural areas, with no city having a population of fifty thousand, and with less than two score cities of census size.

2. Its more than four hundred small towns and villages offer a definite challenge to work out plans for leadership and education for social work such as will help keep the state well balanced as between country and city, town and village, agriculture and business, etc.

3. The rapidly growing industrial life, developed around the small mill village, rather than

¹ This article presents the substance of a paper presented by Howard W. Odum at the annual meeting of the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work.

in congested city areas, offers a challenge for the development of newer and better standards of industrial life and work.

4. The population of the state is almost entirely native stock, there being less than one-half of one per cent of the population foreign born. On the other hand this native population is approximately one-third negro, which brings out the difficulties of dealing with a compound instead of a complex population.

5. North Carolina is definitely committed to the principle that its prevailing mode of social work shall be a state system of public welfare, and has already organized such a system with the county as the unit of administration. Many counties have an executive board or staff of trained workers. The system is making gradual and substantial gains not only in active participation in the life of the state, but in increased legislative appropriations for carrying on this work.

6. While the progressive measures of the state in education, public health, road building, public welfare, and other efforts looking toward the public good is somewhat in advance of the great majority of the people, nevertheless they seem to have voted their complete confidence in such programs of progress.

In addition to these basic facts there are certain general considerations which seem fundamental in our working plans at the School of Public Welfare which may be outlined as follows:

1. Training for professional social work is to be directly related to a comprehensive education for leadership, with broad and liberal background, capable of interpreting and touching life at all of its points, and capable of adaptation to group life and social change.

2. The School of Public Welfare, therefore, is an integral part of a growing university system with the general standards of a university professional school.

3. In addition to training in pure social technique, the School of Public Welfare has as a definite objective, making democracy effective in the "unequal places" of the state and of the South, the "unequal places" being so far as the immediate program is concerned, the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes, as well as rural and socially isolated areas.

4. The approach toward making democracy effective in the "unequal places" will be a two-fold one (1) through training for public welfare as a definite part of local government and community work, and (2) training in the principles and methods of community organization and community work through voluntary and non-governmental agencies.

5. The problem of country life is interpreted to be: To make the country home and community typical of the best that America can produce—a clearly attainable standard, yet nowhere attained.

6. The problem of town and city life has been interpreted to include such social leadership, community organization, town planning and co-operation with country and city as to avoid the mistakes and tragedies usually incident to growth from country to village, from village to town, from town to city.

7. Our problem of reaching the folk has been interpreted to include the recognition that folk-life—whether it be folk-lore, folk drama, or folk art—contains the elements of true values; and that strong stocks, clean blood, superior types furnish the social basis for progress rather than artificial and provincial measures of progress in local experience and modern customs only.

8. That the larger social institutions constitute the best avenue through which the best case work of adjusting the individual to society with benefit to both can be found; and that therefore critical study of the institutions today, with always work aplenty for re-strengthening and rebuilding them, will offer the best mode of training for social work.

9. One of the chief goals of the School of Public Welfare will be making social work as a profession attractive to an increasingly large number of strong men and women.

It will not be surprising, therefore, that we consider our first three years at the School of Public Welfare largely a matter of preparation and general work, with everywhere the attempt to discover adequate methods and to set definite standards to be attained. Nor is it surprising that we are unable to transplant fullgrown, the plans and methods of the Chicago, Boston, or New York schools to our provincial grounds;

nor if we recognize the fact that, for us at least, training for social work has just begun, and that there are vast amounts of information to be got, new trails of experience to be blazed, and new methods and new resources to be discovered.

The first problem of the School of Public Welfare, therefore, is that of providing proper organization for class room instruction, providing social laboratories and field work; practicing social engineering, as well as making scientific inquiry into essential social facts and publishing them. In accordance with these needs the School is organized into four general divisions emphasizing different phases of the work as follows:

I. Instruction in Sociology and Social Problems.

II. Training for Social Work and Community Leadership.

III. Community Service through the avenues of Community Leaders.

IV. Social Research and Publication of Social Facts estimated to be of value to the state, the university, and the general field of public welfare and social progress.

Following the general plans outlined the courses of instruction and field work tend to classify themselves in accordance with the following divisions: general theory, making sure of the background and general ability and education; six divisions corresponding to the institutions: the home and family; the school and education; the church and religion; the state and government; industry and work; community and association; and two divisions providing for office administration and field work. The whole plan of institutional study and work is based upon the general belief that whenever in the long story of human experiences an individual has become socially deficient, whether through his own situations or through biological and social heredity, some one or more of the institutions have failed him in his time of need.

For the present at least the School of Public Welfare is laying chief emphasis upon giving its students a broad general foundation for social work, rather than giving highly specialized technical training upon any phase of the problem, proceeding on the assumption that in the pioneer field of rural social work the "Jack-of-all-trades" must necessarily precede the specialist.

The field work plans of the School of Public Welfare may be outlined by a series of two-fold general divisions.

I. (1) That relating primarily to rural experience and rural work, with facilities for practice in rural environment, and (2) that relating primarily to town and city experience and work with facilities for practice in Durham and other neighboring cities.

II. (1) Field work related primarily to the county unit facilities of public welfare with practice in connection with the office of the county superintendent of public welfare, and (2) field work related chiefly to voluntary and non-governmental agencies.

III. (1) Field work done daily or weekly in residence and (2) field work assigned for longer periods in other counties or cities throughout the state.

IV. (1) Field work done directly in relation to class-room instruction and (2) in relation to research and extension work.

V. (1) Field work with emphasis on family case work, and (2) field work in community organization.

This work of community organization consists not only in the general theory and practice of organizing the forces of the community but also in the specific field of play and recreation.

Perhaps a more detailed statement of how these plans are put into operation may not be out of place. The rural field work in connection with class room instruction is confined largely to Orange county (the county in which the University is located) and Durham county immediately adjoining it. Orange county is wholly rural without a paid social worker of any sort except such as are provided by the School of Public Welfare, while Durham county has a county department of public welfare with a staff of three workers, two public health nurses, a Red Cross secretary, and others whose assistance is available. For extension field work there are one hundred counties needing assignment aid, and, perhaps a dozen counties where students may receive adequate supervision. For the last two months of the year students are placed on long time pieces of work with special supervision before being given a certificate. In the city field work at home, Durham, a manufacturing city of 30,000 population, eleven

miles away, connected by hard surface road, is readily available. Field work done in the city is under the supervision of the local Red Cross chapter. The Durham Community Chest Association offers additional facilities for intensive field work.

For research field work the School of Public Welfare for the past two years has conducted special studies in coöperation with the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. For 1922 the research work was a study of street trades for children with case work inquiry into home conditions. The year before a study was carried out of children's placement work in a number of child caring institutions. At present the school is undertaking a social study of the

city of Durham with special reference to juvenile delinquency.

Such, in brief, are the facilities and natural resources of the School of Public Welfare, which ought to offer unusual opportunities for all-round training for social work in the American democracy. The greatest lack at the present time is that of an adequate number of students for intensive mutual stimulation to social achievement, but this need will be met, no doubt, in proportion as the social conscience of the South becomes quickened, and as the School of Public Welfare is able to convince the people in ever widening circles of influence that it stands equipped and prepared to meet the call for social leadership with workers trained in social technique and imbued with the spirit of service.

HARNESSING COLLEGE POWER TO PROMOTE PUBLIC WELFARE IN THE SOUTH

JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS

PUBLIC WELFARE has not been a thing in which colleges have customarily interested themselves, up to the present. This is partly because suggestions coming from temporary residents of a place are unpalatable to its denizens; partly because the policy of the college usually is strict aloofness from the entanglements of problem solution; but mostly because educators have not appreciated the value of attempting an immediate and practical application of those theories which they teach with the professed belief in their future usefulness for the "life" for which the students are supposed to be undergoing "preparation." This failure of the college to feel the pulse of life has had disastrous consequences. Because of it education has retarded, rather than assisted, human progress, by failing to inculcate a sense of social responsibility. But of late some educators have bestirred themselves with ways and means by which the college curriculum might be made to function in community life. In several subjects plans have been proposed and tested, have alternately succeeded and failed. It is the study of sociology, without doubt, that offers one of the most challenging opportunities.

The fault with the teaching of sociology lies chiefly in the restriction of it to the pages of books and the walls of classrooms. Glibly we talk of "conditions" and "forces," with the minimum amount of correlation with existence. It all seems vaguely interesting to the general student, who seldom thinks of his own possible control over, or functioning with, the conditions and forces. Only advanced students are permitted to assist in the neighborhood houses or to attempt to make surveys in special, limited fields. Unfortunately, comparatively few students go on into these advanced courses. So the vastly larger group, who simply taste sociology by the spoon methods of a general introductory course, get no impulse from it, and are, by that much, less useful as citizens when they have finished college.

This brings us to the particular question. Can the college, through its introductory work in sociology, become a motive force in determining the environment of the small southern city? In such a limited *milieu*, what means must be used to make sociology function actually in the lives of the individual student and community? The means, it is believed, are findable. Search and experiment are the only requisites. In the hope

that one of the recent attempts along this line may invite helpful suggestion, its larger details are briefly described here.

In some respects the conditions environing this experiment were singularly inauspicious: a church college, of one of the stricter sects; a modest enrollment, about five hundred; non-co-education, girls; a cotton mill town partly of the type still reminiscent of the War Between the States, but dependent for its prosperity upon five large mills, three of which belong to the same corporation.

In other respects the situation seemed promising: the one introductory course in sociology had never attracted any alarmed attention; the president of the institution was a gentleman still in middle life who had earlier and elsewhere bestirred himself along the lines of public welfare; the person in charge of the sociology work was only an "acting" head, contracted for but one year and coming from such a distance as to be left unrestricted by some of the accepted *mores* of the college and its town; and above all, the student body enjoyed a wholesome *esprit de corps* of which no small part consisted in an unshakeable belief in the past and the future of the "oldest and best." However, the approach in the matter of the sociology experiment was distinctly in the present.

The first care was to make certain that the best available human material was used. For this purpose registration was made elective and open to the less immature upperclassmen only, and was kept strictly on a "permission from instructor" basis, with preference given those who had taken, or were taking, economics. Thus, by a process of selection, the group was limited to a working number, about twenty-five, of those apparently possessed of real interest in sociology, regardless of their more or less total ignorance of the same. To them were held out no false hopes of ease and comfort. They were warned that the discussion method would be so used in the class periods as to demand individual participation; that each must be responsible, within wide limitations, for the selection of her own readings; and that not less than one-third of the work and credit for the course would have to do with field work, of which a detailed weekly report must in each case be submitted.

It was around this last project that the whole

plan centered. There had to be established, with all the town's available social agencies, some basis for coöperative endeavor. So the professor in charge secured permission for field work from the directors of the various agencies, especially of the mill village community clubs. She stressed the mutually beneficial nature of the enterprise: the girls would make themselves practically useful to the social agency at the same time as they were perfecting themselves in their college assignments; they would work directly under the supervision, and with the express permission, of the agency to which they were assigned. On this basis a variety of contacts was established. The organized service, similar to associated charities in other cities, put to use six students. A large orphanage, on the cottage plan, took four. A rescue home for unmarried mothers wanted two. The fresh air school for tubercular children needed the same number, as did the children's detention farm and an old people's home and a free clinic for mothers and babies. Finally, the leading cotton mill corporation consented to the installation of two workers in each of their three community houses.

The next problem was to fit the field to the girl and vice versa. For this purpose, the newcomer on the faculty confidentially submitted experimental assignment lists to several professors and students of long standing, to determine personal fitness and needs. Then the final assignments were announced as experimental, thus insuring a favorable student reaction. In but two cases were readjustments necessary. Apparent fitness for a field did not always determine assignment, because certain student types stood so badly in need of a shock out of their otherworldiness that they had to be thrust into experiences extremely disagreeable to them, in the company, perhaps, of a fellow student not of their own immediate "set." What sort of experiences these might be, readily will be imagined by all readers familiar with the typical nurture given the middle class girl of the south.

It was not long after their first introduction to their strange work that the girls began to show a decided reaction to it. They had never actually realized that fellow-humans could be as unwashed, as hardworked, as poorly fed, as illy housed or as inadequately clad, as the ranks of the miserable into whose homes they were de-

tailed to go. Quite contrary, was all this, to their inherited notions of divine dispensations and compensations, notions which no amount of classroom lecturing and library reading could have jolted without this practical demonstration. Vivid indeed were those first weekly reports of the people and the things, seen, smelled, felt, tasted and heard. Then came the inevitable query of "Why?" Cause and effect were insistently sought after. The inescapable reactions between individuals and groups, whether in the field or the college, gradually entered perception. When the least comprehending student in the course announced to the class one day how she had come to the conclusion that the unmarried mothers with whom she was working were not so much in league with the devil as the victims of circumstances, we felt that we were getting on. By this time the weekly reports were less like blurred mass pictures; they were more finely drawn, suggesting the background, and the general scheme of the group pictured. They had evolved from simple description to analysis.

It is unnecessary here to do more than briefly suggest the implications of this method. No aspect of theoretical sociology was encountered without an attempt to correlate it with field and college experiences. Although the limitations of student background and library funds had made a text-book necessary at the outset, it could be discarded after the best had been used and dependence placed upon readings in books and periodicals in its stead, especially the latter. Of readings no definite amount was stipulated. In other departments in that college the students turned in "notes" on so many "hours" or pages (small books preferred) of "parallel." But in this one, understanding rather than quantity was the measure. Each submitted a list of readings, but without notes, being required to demonstrate her knowledge in discussion and individual reports. When the mid term examinations were due, each sociology student tendered, instead, her best effort along the line of a correlation between certain salient features of theoretical and applied sociology lying particularly within her individual experience.

Meanwhile, the degree of responsibility which each girl was allowed to assume, varied with the type of agency with which she worked and with

the lengthening of her period of service for it. For example, the rules of the cotton corporation were such as to forbid the field students from remaining at work in the community houses or in the homes of the mill villagers without the presence of the social agent paid by the company. This rule was at first strictly enforced; but gradually the usefulness of the students so increased the confidence of the agents in them that larger freedom was allowed and a decided expansion in function was the pleasing result.

Breadth of view and variety were afforded by such devices as lectures given to the class by special agents, inspections of public and private institutions, and visits, by the students, to each others' fields of service.

When the time rolled around for the final examinations, the class had advanced beyond the stage of analysis to that of synthesis; and on the strength of that advance, the introductory course in sociology was concluded with the production of a joint monograph. For this purpose each group of field workers assembled their part of what was called a "Social Survey" of the city. Therein, under the headings of: fresh air school, juvenile detention home, child welfare council clinic, door of hope (home for unmarried mothers), cotton mills, and organized service, they simply stated the conditions and factors in each field and offered suggestions for betterment. The data were prefaced by an introduction explaining the aim and scope of the survey. A conclusion summarized and synchronized the whole. These, also, were the work of students.

What was done with the survey? It can not be said that permission is at present obtainable for its printing; but everyone with the public welfare of the south at heart must wish that it, and others like it, be printed. And in the meantime the experiment undoubtedly had its effect upon the students' point of view, the college curriculum, and some of the town's social agencies. It may be likened to a pebble, with a widening circle of influence. In so far as each student in the sociology class tried to function in her subject at college, each in turn has gone to her own or another community with the added power of a mind imbued with some of the principles of social responsibility. This is one way by which we may harness college power effectively to promote public welfare in the south.

DEVELOPING A STATE THROUGH STUDENT CLUB WORK

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

THIS IS a brief account of the North Carolina Club at the University of North Carolina: its organization, activities, and a few things it has helped to accomplish during the nine years of its existence. It is, so far as we know, different from other clubs of this kind, and therefore will be suggestive to other groups or institutions desiring to follow its lead.

The North Carolina Club came into existence in November 1914. Its founder was Dr. E. C. Branson, head of the newly created department of Rural Social Economics, the first department of its nature to be established in the south. Dr. Branson had just returned to his native state after an absence of many years spent in educational work in Georgia, where he had already developed the student club idea—but where it seemed a little ahead of the state program.

The North Carolina Club is composed of students and faculty members who are vitally interested in the problems of life and livelihood in their home state. The Club activities are guided by the department of Rural Social Economics. At the beginning of each college year the Club is re-organized and a new program of study for the year is mapped out. Although membership is open to everybody in the University the Club usually consists of from fifty to one hundred students and a few members of the faculty.

At the organization meeting early in the fall the Club elects the usual officers, and in addition a steering committee which directs the Club work. The steering committee bulletins the outline of the studies proposed; dates the reports of the discussions for fortnightly meetings throughout the college year; calls for volunteers and promptly crystallizes the program of the Club at its first meeting in October. The reports of these fortnightly studies and discussions make the chapters of the Club Year-Book, and work that reaches the high level of University standards entitles the student to credit for class promotion and college degrees. Several thousand copies of the Year-Book are printed and mailed free to those who write for it.

THE FIELD OF INTEREST

The particular field of interest and activity of the Club is indicated by the title of the Club Year-Books:

North Carolina: Resources, Advantages, and Opportunities. 1915-16.

Wealth and Welfare in North Carolina. 1916-17.

County Government and County Affairs in North Carolina. 1917-18.

State Reconstruction Studies. 1919-20.

North Carolina: Industrial and Urban. 1920-21.

Home and Farm Ownership in North Carolina. 1921-22.

What Next in North Carolina? 1922-23.

To quote Dr. Branson, "Manifestly the North Carolina Club considers North Carolina to be a proper study for North Carolinians. Not to know the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome is to be sadly crippled in culture; but not to know the Home State is to be even more sadly crippled in competent citizenship. Or such is the creed of the Club.

"And so these last nine years the Club has been exploring North Carolina in fields economic, social, and civic. It has been hunting down the problems and puzzles of life and livelihood in the mother state. It has been busy defining conditions, causes, and consequences, and equally busy considering remedial measures. It has been trying to realize in vivid ways the forces, influences, tendencies, drifts and movements, the ideals, institutions, agencies, men and measures that made North Carolina what she was day before yesterday. It has been taking stock of what North Carolina is today and what she can be tomorrow.

"The young men of the Club are students of history in the world at-large, but they cherish dreams of being makers of history in their little world at home. Competent citizenship and effective public service is the ideal of the Club."

VISIBLE RESULTS

To measure the benefits already accrued to the state due to the work of the North Carolina Club manifestly is impossible. No one agent or agency can claim entire credit for any of the progressive measures this state has adopted within the last few years. Her program of progress is the culmination of years of consecrated toil on the part of scores of inspired workers. To the Club goes the honor of being in the thick of the fight and the credit for heading up many programs of reform that have already been adopted by the state. The rural credits union law, the township incorporation law, the two score public welfare laws, state and county health work, the consolidation of county schools and a state-wide school system, equalization of taxes, a state-wide system of good roads built and maintained by the state, county-wide library service, county group hospitals, and scores of other measures have been championed by the Club. The state has gained nation-wide prominence because of the large number of progressive measures she has already adopted notably in the fields of public health, public welfare, public education, and good roads.

EXPLORES NEW FIELDS

The members of the North Carolina Club are constantly exploring new fields, and clearing new grounds. For instance the 1917-18 Year-Book on County Government and County Affairs was the first book on that subject to be published in the United States. County Government, the jungle of American democracy, was explored for the first time. Since this Year-Book appeared calling attention to the short comings and deficiencies of county government, and outlining con-

structive remedies, the subject has been fermenting in the minds of the people. The reforms will come in due time.

Again, the 1921-22 Year-Book treated for the first time the subject of Home and Farm Ownership. It explored the facts about farm tenancy at home and abroad, and the status of the tenant in North Carolina, in the United States and in foreign countries. It conducted a field survey covering two townships in North Carolina to gather for the first time the actual facts. A great deal was known in a general way but nothing specific until this exhaustive survey was conducted and the results tabulated and interpreted. It explored the world to see what remedies for tenancy were being employed, and it outlined constructive measures suited to the needs of North Carolina. The Year-Book was scarcely off the press when the subject was brought before the Legislature. That body appointed a commission to make a study of farm tenancy, and to report at the next session a bill providing for some form of state aid to landless men. The bill is now being drafted and most likely North Carolina will be the first state in the South to attempt to make home and farm owners out of worthy landless and homeless farmers. Again the state will have led off in a new field of economic and social reform, thanks largely to her students of state affairs.

The students of the University of North Carolina, through activity in the North Carolina Club, are vital forces in reconstructing their home state. They are digging in new ground, exploring new fields, outlining needed and practical reforms, and preparing themselves for competent leadership in their home state.

THE IMPORTANCE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH TO THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

PERCY SCOTT FLIPPIN

WE HAVE an interest in the past. When properly written history always stimulates interest. A genuine interest in history usually indicates some degree of culture. It is at least a conservative statement to say that a sincere interest in historical matters unquestion-

ably shows that the materialistic spirit has not completely dominated our age. Compare a nation which has no interest in its own past with one which has a very pronounced interest in its history and the conclusion usually reached is that the latter may be considered progressive while

the former cannot truthfully be so designated. As paradoxical as it may seem, the nation that looks backward is the nation that looks forward. It may be thought of as resembling Janus, of Roman mythology, who, with two faces, looked backward and forward at the same time. The knowledge of the past is of value in dealing with modern problems, for if history does not repeat itself, there are undoubtedly some very striking analogies. If experience is the best teacher for an individual, the same may be said to apply to a nation, which is only an aggregate of individuals. It is an incentive to the present generation to look backward as well as forward. It is worth much to know whence as well as whither.

"History is past politics." This definition given by the English historian, E. A. Freeman, may be taken as expressive of the idea of history as conceived by the earlier historians. Ancient history dealt mostly with kings, battles, and the despotic rule of the monarch over his subjects. In the periods of Greek and Roman supremacy, history, according to the historians was largely "past politics." In the city-states of Greece, in the Republic of Rome and the Roman Empire, the historians confined themselves to purely political and military affairs, and often mythology and tradition were woven into the historical records, the annals and the biographies. The Middle Ages were dominated by an all-pervading feudal system and more especially by the medieval Roman Church. This politico-religious organization permeated Western Europe and swayed the minds of men. This hierarchy, which demanded recognition of its claim to supremacy both in temporal and spiritual matters unduly influenced historical writers. That medieval historians were nothing more than church chroniclers is therefore not strange. In modern times the writing of history has undergone changes which make it no longer possible to use the definition of history just quoted. The modern school of historical research has given a new impetus and a wider scope to historical writing. What the test-tube is to the chemist and the microscope is to the biologist the new method of historical research is to the historian. Ancient, medieval and modern history has been rewritten in the light of recent discoveries and especially according to the new method of research. We are indebted to the

modern historian not only for trustworthy history, written according to the methods of historical research but also for valuable illustrative source material. The search-light of the scholar has been turned upon the sources upon which history is based, so that we are today reasonably certain that the information derived therefrom is authentic and that the sources themselves may be studied with profit. This makes history very real and enables the student to trace for himself the various tendencies leading up to an event which were perhaps too numerous for the historian to mention.

Those who developed the modern school of historical research not only revolutionized the methods of investigation so as to help the historian to avoid the mistakes of his predecessors but also prepared the way for a consideration of those economic and social phases of the life of a people, which have a most potent influence upon their history. It is no longer true that "what the king wills, has the force of law." It is no longer true that the wishes of a princess may be recognized to the extent of a declaration of war. The world has made unprecedented progress during recent centuries. The century recently closed and even the decade just ended have seen changes rapidly taking place, which have had most decided effects upon not only the political affairs of the peoples of the various governments of the world, but also upon economic and social matters, which, after all, are the determining factors in modern times.

Although a distinguished English historian of the nineteenth century held that "History is past politics and politics are present history," thus making history a "science of man in his political character," still, historians have not been greatly influenced by this view. The modern historian emphasizes the economic and social phases of the life of a people as indicative of those subtle influences, which very largely decide the course of history. It is not sufficient to-day to simply memorize the names of kings, presidents and prime ministers, nor to remember only the dates of events, but it is imperatively necessary to understand the causes which made history possible. It is essential to know why certain events occurred. "There is no dead history," for "History is the biology of human conduct." When properly written history will pulsate with life. His-

tory is the search for truth. It is an effort to ascertain the hopes, the aspirations, the ideals and the purposes of a people, who, through their endeavors performed services and achieved results which deserve to be permanently recorded. The historian in his search for truth must strive not only to record the events but also to so correlate cause and effect as to show clearly why the events occurred and what were their consequences. "History is the book of the life of mankind. Its function is primarily interpretative. Historical interpretation means the selection of those relevant factors out of the mass of past events which stand in significant relation to the present moment. Hitherto history has generally been conceived in an exclusively political sense as a record of the *res gestae*, and of the men who brought them to pass. History must henceforth be approached from an institutional, not from an individual or national standpoint. Religion, politics, and economics are the three great regulative factors of human intercourse subsumed under the term—, Society."¹ The function of the historian is, therefore, to so present the events and tendencies pertaining not only to the political but also to those numerous economical and social phases of the life of a people as to aid the student to think clearly as he endeavors to ascertain those varied and far-reaching influences which have dominated their ideals and shaped their policy. A well written history will include information on political, economic and social matters, so arranged that political affairs will not be emphasized to the almost exclusion of the economic and social, and that neither economic nor social will be magnified at the expense of the political.

It is not inappropriate to raise the question as to the connection between historical research and the teaching of the social sciences. The social sciences are greatly emphasized at the present time. This is preëminently a social age. Mr. Wallace, the author of the new book, *The Trend of History*, maintains that we are passing from an age dominated by political institutions into one in which the economic and social factors will be ascendant. "We are standing," this author states, "on the threshold of an unpolitical age. Politics

has fallen from its high estate. The preëminence of the State politically conceived, has been called into question. Other forms of corporate organization are pressing for recognition. We may in turn see arising before our eyes a new, great social institution. 'Industrialism,' which may serve to dominate this new institution, is a social and economic system, only indirectly political. Such would appear to be the trend of history." There is a close connection between history and the social sciences. The principles involved in collecting, correlating and applying data in historical investigation are likewise employed in collecting, correlating and applying data in all of the social sciences. History and the social struggle are closely intertwined and dovetailed into each other. The human element is constantly to be reckoned with, for human beings have made history and have had much to do with creating social conditions. Men change their habits and customs very slowly for the tendency is for habits and customs to persist. It is strikingly true that social conditions tend to repeat themselves and the social customs of to-day would seem to show very clear evidence of the outgrowth and development of the customs of the past. It is therefore, necessary to know the past in regard to social conditions in order to understand the origin of the social conditions of the present.

Take from history what may be classified as social influences, social action, social events and little would be left. Man is a social being and his contact with others in the various relations of life furnish valuable material for the historian.

The individual living on a deserted island furnishes little or nothing of interest to the historian. Society, that is, man in his social relations, is the one subject of absorbing interest to the historian. The historian seeks to tell of the achievements of society and to show how interdependent are the several social groups. Since history is the story of the achievements of men in their social relations then to attempt to dissociate history altogether from the social sciences would be to give only a small part of that story. History gives an account of the aspirations, the struggles, the successes and the failures of men, and shows how men in society strive to realize their ideals, to overcome difficulties and to win

¹ *The Trend of History: Origins of Twentieth Century Problems*, W. K. Wallace.

advantage. The importance of history and especially historical research to the teaching of the social sciences is thus very evident.

Very great emphasis is now placed upon the teaching of the social sciences. The colleges and more especially the universities have rather comprehensive courses of instruction in which the several subjects now included in the social sciences are extensively emphasized. The field of investigation is continually being widened and the methods of scientific research applied so as to further add to the knowledge of the subjects involved. Both in research and in teaching, the social sciences have been so correlated with history that the importance of historical research to the teaching of social sciences has been greatly increased.

THE HISTORY INQUIRY

AN INQUIRY INTO the present content, organization, and tendencies of history teaching in our schools is being made at the request of the Committee on History in the Schools of the American Historical Association. The work is in charge of Professor Edgar Dawson of Hunter College, Secretary of the National Council for the Social Studies, under an appointment made in the Division of School Experimentation of the Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University. It will be supervised by a committee appointed under the authority of the officers of the American Historical Association. The Institute of Educational Research will contribute to the investigation expert advice on the conduct of such an investigation and financial aid in getting the work done; but the character of the information to be collected and the organization of it for publication will be in the hands of the committee of historical scholars of which Professor W. E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania is chairman.

The immediate purpose of the investigation is to furnish to the officers of the American Historical Association, such definite information as will guide them in determining the policy of the Association in dealing with its obligations to history teaching in the schools. For this purpose the information will be needed before the end of December of this year and the work of collecting it will be vigorously pushed with this purpose in

view. But some time after the beginning of the new year will be used in the final formulation of such a report as will be interesting and valuable to all who are engaged in educational administration. Both the investigation and the report will be limited to objective information collected in a scientific spirit for the use of those who are in need of facts in this field. No effort will be made to argue the desirability of one course or method as compared with another. This argument and the formulation of courses of study will be left to those who are to use the facts after the work of investigation is terminated. Those who are interested in such an undertaking are invited to send information, suggestions or inquiries to Mr. Dawson, 425 West 123rd Street, New York City.

For those who have laid emphasis on the need of information in this field, this inquiry offers an opportunity which should be fully used. An inquiry into the status of history in the schools must necessarily consider, to some extent at least, the status of the other social studies as well. If there are teachers or school administrators who wish to know what is being done in this field, now is the time to send in their requests for definite information in order that it may be secured and supplied to them. While the fullest discussion of the inquiry is solicited, those who are too busy to do more than send to the above address a brief statement of the lines along which investigation should be made are urged to do that at the earliest possible moment.

What facts are needed by those who must answer any of the following questions: Is American history required of most high school graduates? Do most graduates of the schools understand something of the development of our constitution? Do most of them understand the development of our present social problems? How many of them have studied enough of European history to appreciate the relation of European affairs to our own? Is it possible, in the opinion of experienced school men to accomplish useful results in this direction through a one-year survey of general history? Are the college entrance requirements in history working to the detriment of the general education of those who do not go to college? Is too much time being given to current events? Is the history of those parts of

America lying outside of the United States given enough attention by history teachers? Are the objectives or purposes of history teaching clear enough in the minds of those who are teaching it?

Is the mere memorizing of dates and names still a fault of history teaching in many places? What are the leading tendencies in the development of history curricula?

A STUDY OF THE AMERICAN VILLAGE

EDMUND deS. BRUNNER

ORGANIZATION of the Study. The study is being carried on by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. In one phase it has the active coöperation of the Office of Rural Life Studies of the Federal Department of Agriculture. The study was initiated after conference with an Advisory Council which assisted in planning its scope and method. Members of this council who have given much time to the undertaking include—President Kenyon L. Butterfield, Professors Dwight Sanderson, E. L. Morgan, J. L. Kolb, W. L. Bailey, Drs. Warren H. Wilson, Paul L. Vogt, H. Paul Douglass, C. J. Galpin, and Reverends H. N. Morse and Robert H. Ruff.

Objective of Study. The study seeks to secure a picture of the life of each village community investigated. All social institutions are surveyed but the emphasis is on the community and not on any one agency. Among agencies and institutions, the church and the school are considered as of major importance and are given the greater emphasis.

Local Area Covered. Each investigation covers not only the incorporated village but also the total contiguous area entering into the economic and social community.

Extent of Study. Thus far the investigation has been confined to the northern colonial area. If the results there achieved are deemed of sufficient importance the Insittute will consider extending the study to sample villages in other regions of America. Each village studied is visited by two trained field workers who reside in the community about two weeks. Local coöperation is also enlisted.

Schedules Used. Three schedules are used—one for the community, one for each church, one for each school. In addition, some communities

have been covered according to the plan suggested by the Federal Council of Community Organization of the National Government.

Data Secured and Scope of the Study. Census material—By the coöperation of the Department of Agriculture access has been had to the 1920 census material for each of the villages thus far studied. The Institute has authorized the drawing off of census data for 120 other villages carefully selected in the remaining major regions of America. This has been done because the Institute realizes that such data on villages has never before been published and because it believes that such data would be of value to social scientists even if its own study should not be made nation wide. The facts on age and race, illiteracy, marital condition and occupation of the population have been secured. This is the first time any of this information gathered in each census has ever been made available for villages. It is valuable both for the village itself and in comparison with published census facts for neighboring cities. In some villages these facts are supplemented by a house-to-house census at the time of the field investigation.

The Community. The general community study covers population, types and characteristics of neighborhoods and social groups, type of farming, economic status, tenancy and ownership, farm income, farmer's coöperatives, type of non-agricultural industry, hands employed, wages, effect on farming, budgets and functions of government and tax supported institutions, 1916-23, valuations, number of modern improvements in homes, transportation, program, membership, attendance, finances, and contributions to community life of each social organization, salient facts on health, charities and crime, relation of village to country agencies, all other social activi-

ties of a civic, educational, recreational or general cultural value, relation of village to country, and leadership.

The Church. Each church is scored quantitatively and qualitatively according to an accepted fifty point standard on such items as equipment, finance, membership and parish, services, religious education, general program, ministerial leadership and interdenominational coöperation. In addition, the budget of each church is secured for 1916 and 1923, membership is classified by age, sex, and occupational groups and contributions of time on the part of the membership are ascertained.

The School. Each school is studied as to equipment, enrollment, attendance, age, training and local community activities of teachers, racial grouping among pupils, pupil organizations, curriculum, publicity, and social center work. The Parent-Teachers Association, of any, is also surveyed.

Young People. Special effort is being made to discover something of the attitude of the young people. With the coöperation of the school authorities, high school and grammar school students are being asked the names of their favorite books and amusements, the places where their families trade and to state what they expect to do when they leave school—whether they will live in their home community, and whether they would consider farm life.

Correlations. The material secured is worked into a composite whole so far as possible. Related facts are correlated. For instance, the effect of economic status on the scope and variety of

church, school, and organizational programs is studied. So too, church, school, and general community facts are correlated with density and literacy and scores of similar correlations are made.

Results. It is too early to state the results of a study the field work phase of which is not yet completed for even one region. A few indications may, however, be given:

Each study is eventuating in a definite, concrete program for each village. A large majority of the villages are following up the survey.

The census facts are showing a preponderance of females in these villages, in some the predominate age group being females between the ages of sixty and sixty-five. Conversely, the male and female groups between twenty-one and forty-five are below the average in numbers.

The church enlists a larger proportion of the population in the village than in the surrounding open country, but it is conspicuously less successful in reaching certain occupational groups and in reaching as high a proportion of the adult population as the churches in cities adjacent to these villages.

The relative number of churches seems to increase as the population decreases. In New York City there is but one church for every 2,500 people. In cities smaller than New York, but above 100,000 in population there is one church for every 1,500 people. In cities of from 25,000 to 50,000 there is one church for every 1,000 people. In the villages which we have thus far studied, there are nearly four churches for every 1,000 men, women, and children.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

President Ulysses G. Weatherly announces an excellent program of the eighteenth annual meeting, Washington, D. C., December 27-29, 1923. At the same time and place the following organizations will meet: the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, the National Community Center Association, the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work, and the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology.

The general topic will be "The Trend of Population," and it looks from this distance like one of "the good old" meetings.

Inter-State Reports from the Fields of Public Welfare and Social Work

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

A DECADE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS: MASSACHUSETTS

ROBERT W. KELSO

SOCIAL advancement is sometimes shadowed forth in statutes; because laws at all times in theory and at rare intervals in practice, are the expressed will of the people. A decade of progress in Massachusetts, or any other locality, therefore, must take account of the legislation passed in that interval, but it must be borne in mind that progress lies not in the laws themselves, but rather in the tendencies and determinations of which the governmental voice is but the tell tale symptom.

Measured by the legislative gauge the advance of Massachusetts in the past ten years has been a consolidation of gains. She has had little that was new to build. Two years before the opening of the decade the wave of sentiment for widows' pensions broke over the country. It tripped every tongue. It traveled with the persistency of a street song. Many states promptly established it as a pension in fact. Strange reasoning was offered the legislative bodies in effecting its passage; but the truth was that sympathy with a beatific unreason was abroad in the land. The world wanted this thing to be done. It was done: and our several communities are in consequence fast developing a brand new class of public dependents, whom in the second stage of the "mistake" they will proceed to pauperize in spirit as well as in law.

Massachusetts after much contention and some argument saw rightly that widows' pensions, by whatever name, are public poor relief. And she had the courage to say so and the practical sense to place administration in the hands of her public poor relief authorities. She has yet to prove that because of the influence of ancient charity-dole methods she will not follow the same pauperizing

course of some of her sister states; but so far she had been sound in her method.

And this is the first gain in her decade of social progress.

In mothers' aid she assumed that the burden of support rests upon the individual and his family so long as he or they have the strength and ability to help themselves. In accord with this principle of popular government three determined steps in still another direction have been taken. The first is the illegitimacy law of 1913 which uprooted the ancient civil action with its criminal procedure, wherein the mother of an illegitimate child was permitted to sue the alleged father and if successful recovered enough damages frequently to pay for her lying-in; and supplanted it by a penal statute declaring illegitimate paternity to be an offense against the people and requiring in penalty therefore that such father support his offspring throughout its minority. In the old order the parties in interest were assumed to be the mother and the accused; in the new law the parties became the public and the child.

The second of these three steps was the completion of form and the development of practice in non-support proceedings. In its present form the law of Massachusetts requires a husband to support his wife and children. As between himself and the public disagreeable conditions at home are no excuse.

The third step in the series was the law of 1915 requiring adult children to support their dependent parents. This last provision is a great discouragement to the inhuman practice undoubtedly gaining ground in this age of tax made charity to shuffle off the old folks on to the almshouse or the charitably inclined. In 1913, under these

three statutes the probation officers throughout the commonwealth collected \$140,773.00 which was expended in the support of the dependent families of the delinquents. In 1922 the total had jumped to \$866,837.00.

Taken together these measures lay claim to a second real advance in the social program.

Men like John Nolen and Lawrence Veiller have long preached the gospel of good city planning. Timidly and with the felt shoe of political approach American cities are beginning to whisper about vested property interests and the rights of the whole people. The movement is still below the threshold of public consciousness.

Massachusetts, older in her dwelling place than newer America where the pungent odor of new pine still lingers, has been forced by crowded living conditions to give thought to her housing. Out of her defects rather than her virtue she has had need of a defense of the people against the individual owner of all things, and having the need she has not wanted for leadership. The "town planner," a rare bird, has appeared in our flock of bread winning occupations. A statute of 1913 with an addition in 1914 made city and town planning boards compulsory. Now there are 62 such boards throughout the state. In 1918 the supervision of the work of these new bodies was lodged in the State Department of Public Welfare: so that city and town planning, lying a decade ago in the swaddling clothes of landscape architecture and gazing at a splendid sunset over a million dollar lea, has grown at the end of the decade into the full young manhood of social service, viewing the development of right arteries of travel, of breathing spaces for our children, of dwelling areas where overworked humanity can get all or at least a good part of a night's rest, as necessities which must be had and to which the hitherto sacred rights of junkman, soapmaker and realtor must yield. City planning is preventive social service, infinitely more productive than alms.

Massachusetts is seeing this newer vision. She can claim little credit. She should be at least ten years ahead of her present station: but so far she is going straight, and this is the third point in her decade of advancement.

The interlude of the great war has been the occasion for a basic change in our mental atti-

tude toward the criminal law and the administration of criminal justice. Hitherto we have gazed fixedly at the "overt act" as a gauge of guilt, but now we discover that minds differ—that there is surprising variance in the ability of the individual to sense and to perform his obligations under the law. Wherefore we are turning our attention toward the mental state of the accused. We are fast approaching the day when we shall treat offenders for their condition as well as their conduct. Advancement has come—in Massachusetts in particular—in this field through the erection of public machinery for the mental examinations of persons accused of crime and for the separate custody and treatment of delinquents who are found to be defective. Both of these steps have been completed in the Bay States since 1915. And the law there has gone one step farther. Children three years or more backward in public school are to be grouped in special classes wherever ten or more such retards are found, the purpose being to identify defectives early and to seek proper care and treatment for them before rather than at the end of a possible career of crime. In this respect the Massachusetts Statute is not pioneer: it follows the law of New York.

In connection with this logical development in corrections the movement of prisoners from idleness in cells to labor out on the land is occurring in New England as elsewhere. With the essential factor of recognizing mental appraisal as a necessary step in the administration of criminal justice this is the fourth important advance within ten years.

Finally Massachusetts has consolidated her state administrative departments into a coherent system. In so doing she has accomplished an important result worth noting. The nation-wide demand for centralization in governmental machinery came to the older communities of the Atlantic seaboard like a tidal wave. It swept over the midwestern plain with such force that Illinois has overdone the task and as a result is sure to find her public charitable and correctional institutions in politics. Ohio has followed her lead. The Illinois system was offered as a model for Massachusetts and her loosely integrated boards of unpaid citizens were pointed at with scorn. Yet that same unpaid service has been the

glory of the old commonwealth through many a dark trial. When therefore it came to the sticking point, she drew back from the political centralization plan and developed a department of public welfare headed by a single commissioner supreme in administration but subject to the veto of an advisory board of unpaid citizens. In corrections and in mental diseases she retained the same essentials. She is therefore in position to

keep her governmental machinery in contact with public opinion though still in accord with party government. In the wisdom of her response to the movement for centralization lies her step forward.

These five milestones of progress, chosen from all the accomplishments of an eventful decade show the safe and sane growth of a system of social welfare safeguarded by a growing sense of community interest.

WHERE SHALL WE GET THE MONEY?

CHARLES M. DE FOREST

THE NEW war gas, "lewisite," is said to be deadly, invisible, odorless and quite beyond the gas mask. This looks like a strong point for those who argue that another world war would wipe out civilization.

As to the probability of another war, one hundred and sixty prominent Americans, including Roger W. Babson, Frank A. Vanderlip, Prof. Irving Fisher and Judge Henry Wade Rodgers, recently issued an appeal to the churches containing this statement: "Yet another war is being prepared in the vindictive hatreds, the nationalistic ambitions and the schemes of racial and imperial self-aggrandizement which mark the world's international relationships. The spirit of good will and coöperation for the welfare of mankind as a whole is so weak and expectations of war are so freely voiced and preparations so frankly pushed that another war is inevitable unless a better mind can speedily prevail."

The sense of the appeal is this: Between nations friction is likely to burst into the flame of war. Within nations the propaganda of class hatred flows on. The basic lesson taught by the war is to strengthen those forces that replace greed and hatred with unselfishness and brotherliness. The agencies that promote morality (including altruism), health, education and common prosperity must be supported as never before, and no time is to be lost.

It is not necessary for the purpose of this article to argue that another great war is probable or that it would make a clean sweep of civilization. My premise is merely a fact of common observation: Fear of another war has created

a demand for an unprecedented amount of preventive work and of money to pay for it.

Is there a single philanthropic agency today that does not feel the urge to enlarge or intensify its program? The churches of the United States, which before America went into the war were expending \$329,000,000 in a year, felt the call to do more work so strongly that a group of Protestant denominations put on drives for an additional half billion dollars. More work always demands more money, except to the extent of efficiency pruning; but the half billion dollars did not begin to measure the extension of work that the church leaders considered imperative. It is a gigantic task to underwrite "the evangelization of the world in this generation." As for the half billion dollars, only a fraction of the sum was pledged, in spite of the open-purse feeling Americans had at that time.

Disease produces much of the misery and poverty that are factors in class strife, revolution and war. The agencies that are combatting it eagerly desire to accelerate their work. As for the money wanted, the voluntary national health organizations that have headquarters in one building in New York have annual budgets of \$4,300,000. This amount in the case of one of them, the National Tuberculosis Association, includes the funds of forty-eight state associations. These affiliated tuberculosis associations aimed at \$5,000,000 in the 1922 Christmas seal sale. The American Cancer Society, the Association for the Prevention and Relief of Heart Disease, the Mental Hygiene Association, the Social Hygiene Association, and other societies can each see

where \$5,000,000 could be put to real service in their special campaigns. It is safe to say, in addition, that the host of voluntary health organizations outside the Penn Terminal Building and also the tax-supported boards of health can each talk convincingly of the need for a wide extension of its work.

Health agencies find a strong urge to enlarge programs in the realization that few diseases can pass from preventable to prevented until good health habits become universal. If we are content to let die "old dogs who cannot learn new tricks," the job still entails health education for the 28,000,000 children we have from 5 to 18 years of age. The job is made immensely larger also by the necessity of converting health teaching in most schools from a matter of mere information to one of practice. As the school admittedly haven't the personnel or money, health agencies are making common cause with them, and the huge contract demands funds eclipsing by many millions the budgets of yesterday,—before the child came to the front of the stage. It is no wonder that 78 voluntary organizations have sprung up engaged actually or by aspiration in national child health work.

So much for churches and health agencies. But are other organizations a whit behind these in zeal for more work and more money? Consider the Scouts, the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army; the Red Cross, which met calls for \$12,459,848 last year; also the Near East Relief.

To the call for contributions by the agencies named must be added the perennial appeal of colleges. The productive funds of colleges and universities, 1917-18, were \$481,085,952. The tuition paid by their more than 375,000 students, although the average per pupil lies between \$200 and \$350, covers only from one-fifth to one-half of the cost of instruction. The yield from productive funds fails by so much to make up this deficit of from four-fifths to one-half that institutions of learning are perforce institutions of begging. Wearied by ceaseless battle with debts, university heads long for endowments sufficient to balance budgets; but those of them who are economists must recognize the thought as dream-stuff for most of them. In face of the always growing competition for gifts and of the mount-

ing enrollment of pupils, it is impossible to sequester enough money in safe low-yield securities and property of the endowment type to forestall deficits. Five years ago, one and a half billion dollars would have been required. Soaring since then, the amount is now out of sight, in the practical sense. Many a college, not supported by taxation, faces the dilemma of making itself self-sustaining at the risk of shutting its doors against the poor, or of out-competing other colleges in ingenuity of appeal and strength of drive.

The philanthropic and educational agencies now established yearn for more money, and a bevy of new agencies is born every year. Can we expect donations to grow at an equal pace? They have fallen off markedly since the war. Donors are uniting for protection against repeated "drives." "Community chests" are being formed at a rapid rate. Their purpose is to limit solicitations, outside of a man's own church or society, to one brief canvass per year. Chests have already been formed in one hundred and two of our cities. For both the generous and the stingy they save time and possible embarrassment. But many a philanthropy bewails the loss of opportunity for "education" caused by restricted solicitation.

It may be argued that the public can in time be educated to give in larger numbers and larger amounts. But the agencies campaigning against war believe that, as in Napoleon's rules for war, "time is everything." As long as the American people respond to the call of the automobile with one and one-half billion dollars per year, yield more than two billion dollars annually to tobacco, and devote several billions to luxuries, can anyone imagine them *donating*, on top of taxes, enough money to do away with war and check class conflict?

How much more taxation will Americans accept? We are so thoroughly sold on the value of free public schools that we will tax ourselves probably further for them than for any other cause except defense in war. Expenditures for public schools in 1871 were \$69,107,612, and in 1920 \$1,045,053,545. They increased fifteenfold while the population was trebling. In Indiana last year 42 per cent of the grand total tax revenue for the state and all subdivisions was de-

voted to public education. Yet the theme most discussed in a recent national series of conferences conducted by the United States Commissioner of Education, and a theme always emerging at conventions of superintendents, is how to secure more tax money.

High schools are especially costly. We now have 14,000 of them, and more and more are demanded by parents in localities not supplied. The ideal is a free high school for every child with mind and ambition to do the work. But hope of this was given a jar, three or four years ago, by an official of the public education system of England. He declared that American taxpayers, following experience in England, would balk at the enormous expense long before high schools were provided for all.

Then there are the institutions of higher education supported by taxation. The state universities are importuning legislatures for larger grants. Ex-President Hadley of Yale is quoted to the effect that the mounting costs of school and college salaries are a hopeless budget problem as long as present methods obtain. "There is a point beyond which further taxes cripple the life of the community more than further opportunities for higher education help it, and in some districts it looks as though we had pretty nearly reached that point."

Public schools and colleges represent only a part of the betterment undertakings calling for more tax money. Widows' pensions, compensation insurance and soldiers' bonus are a few of the newer undertakings. To these demands one must add the greatly increased cost of the long-established governmental agencies.

The public is already squirming under the tax burden in an ominous manner. After a study of middle western conditions Mark Sullivan recently wrote: "This whole matter of taxation, national, state and local, has come to be serious. It is the burden of talk everywhere, and much of the politics of various communities hangs on it." Mr. Bryan reports as a typical instance that a farm of his taxed \$93 in 1915 was taxed \$494 in 1921. As for income taxes, states are adding theirs to the federal.

The current income of the American people was 72 billion dollars in 1920, as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board. For

recalcitrant taxpayers and revolting donors this becomes *only* 72 billions. The one-tenth named by the "Old Patriarch Jacob" is too short a measure for the giving asked now: and the additional taxes that would be required for services that society seems to need would be greeted with cries of "Confiscation." In face of such donation and taxation, advice to save for old age would be too absurd for utterance.

Since neither contributions nor taxes will meet the demands, shall we reduce demands or shall we find an additional method of raising money for them? Futile experiments in human betterment should be starved out, but progress demands that experimentation continue. And quite aside from new essays, more money is asked for old-line work of demonstrated value than we can expect to raise under present methods.

Reverting to the schools, we find physicians, health associations and schools themselves insisting on the introduction of physical education on a vast scale, as having demonstrated its value. Playground and gymnasium facilities are wanted, and supervisors. School nurses and examining physicians are asked not for the present few but for all pupils. Provision is demanded for lunches and for daytime naps for underweight children. Milk must be provided, and the supply must be made safe. Then there is the movement that has swept across the country to establish nutrition classes and clinics for malnourished children needing intensive treatment. These benefits cost. The added expense of physical education is so great that the sponsors of the Fess-Capper bill are asking the Federal government to aid the states. Whatever the fate of that bill, the poor physical condition of our boys called in the draft has received so much publicity that it is improbable that broad physical education will be refused the schools.

Instead of cutting down their other program to counterbalance physical education, schools are adding subjects like accident prevention and character development. From the furnace of war no more precious ingot can be drawn than the lesson that a nation's strength is limited to its moral development. The teaching of the war is, in essence, the failure of industrial efficiency, material wealth and physical health when controlled by selfishness. When our schools

drive home the truth that selfishness is shortsightedness, and that brotherly love is the most practical philosophy both for the individual and the nation, they will have justified their cost many times.

The schools and churches are not the only agencies that have been quickened by the war to strengthen their moral training. For all lines of human betterment the indications are that more and more money will be asked. As the conclusion seems inescapable that vastly more is needed than both taxation and donation will yield, what other method can be followed?

There is but one method left. It is for betterment agencies to make money themselves. Those that do not secure the support they need from taxes and gifts must depend on their own economic production. It remains for a number of social service organizations to follow the example of that social service individual, Paul the Tent-maker.

They must go into business. They must earn money by producing goods, material or service, that sell at a financial profit. It may be hard to take the leap from the lap of bounty, and some agencies will be crushed in the attempt, but those that succeed in self-support will blaze a way that must be followed by many welfare organizations. They will also occupy a vantage point above those charities that the cynical too often look on as either paupers or parasites. Many betterment agencies have been born to society, but a larger family may be expected. Some of these children must provide their own board and clothes.

The world needs the spectacle of philanthropic organizations earning their own money. There is no danger that any of them will earn so much money or that so many of them will win financial independence that society will lack healthful opportunity for benevolence. Objections may be raised when tax-supported charities go into business, on the ground that they have an unfair advantage in competition with capital and labor. But when charitable organizations enter the lists without the support of taxes, in competition with all comers, the objections lose force. In some instances the money-earning may be done not by

the organization itself, but by an auxiliary business agency existing for the express purpose of supporting it.

In line with this last thought is the "cry," until lately "in the wilderness" but now voiced in not a few business offices, that the prevailing motive of business must be changed. Felix Adler is the prophet. He proclaims that the evils inherent in our economic system spring from a false motive, —pecuniary gain. A successful physician would certainly deem himself insulted if the aggregate of his fees were considered the measure of his success. No more should the gauge for a business man's work be "the money he makes." Dr. Adler expects the time to come when avarice will be ranked with gluttony. "Abjure the false motive," he cries to the man in business. "Put yourself on a salary." The Ethical Culture Society, of which he is the head, has set up a Business Men's Group to include those "who seek the vindication of their moral nature in their business."

The heaven is working. Signs are cropping out of the lump. An engineer recently abandoned an income of \$25,000 per year to accept a teacher's job at less than \$5000, because he felt that in training young men he would be of greater service. Mr. Mitten turns the rickety street railway system of Philadelphia to the service of both the public and the employees; and, lo, it becomes strong. Mr. Nash applies the Golden Rule to the clothing business; and workers, owners and customers rejoice. The most valuable coinage to be considered in the Rotarians' "He profits most who serves best" is ethical. To make the progress of civilization secure, the *principal* business of the world must become the development of moral character, and the creation of material wealth must be recognized as auxiliary to the development of character.

There are some self-sustaining philanthropies. They are not limited to the woodyards of some associated charities and the farms of some insane asylums. The Young Men's Christian Associations of Greater New York come within 13 per cent of paying all expenses by membership dues, gymnasium fees and similar charges. The Altro Manufacturing Co. of New York has supported itself by operating a garment factory to give

healthful employment to the tuberculous. Other such altruistic concerns may be cited; but, all told, they are too few to supply the spectacle needed or to reduce appreciably the pressure on the mass of agencies that must beg for money or lobby for taxes.

To solve this problem of funds, two movements need to be accelerated. One is to form self-supporting philanthropic organizations. The other is to form business organizations run not to cut melons for individual stockholders but to apply net profits to the benefit of the public. The

spirit of the times indicates that a hearty welcome awaits commercial companies whose motive, after paying workers reasonable wages and investors the money actually necessary to secure capital, is purely to advance mankind.

In proportion as the number of business organizations actuated by the philanthropic motive and the number of philanthropic organizations supported by their own economic production increase, there will be decrease in the difficulty of raising the funds required to suppress war and make the advance of civilization secure.

SOCIAL HYGIENE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

RAY H. EVERETT

SOcial hygiene, as it has become accepted generally in the United States, has both a broader and a narrower significance than is given it in England and on the continent. In those countries it is thought of as dealing with a broad group of maladies to combat which many research and propaganda agencies have been formed. Here its connotations are limited to problems dealing with and growing out of sex relations which, medically at least, confine its activities to the discovery and development of measures to control and prevent the venereal diseases.

Though thus limited in a medical sense, however, the field of social hygiene in this country has come to embrace the study of a far broader series of acts and conditions which bear directly on the welfare of the family and the home. Such problems, for instance, as marriage, divorce, illegitimacy, prostitution and other forms of sex-delinquency,—these and their like which tend to sustain or destroy our basic social relationships, now are considered definite and proper questions to be investigated and, where possible, adjusted by the agencies working in this field. Many of these problems would exist if there *were no* so-called venereal diseases, although oftentimes they are aggravated and made more difficult of settlement through the presence of these diseases. Further than this, social hygiene in its *positive* aspects, aims to reach not only those who might otherwise become immoral, but every individual.

Sex education should be a natural, logical part of the life-training program of all.

The earlier stages of the movement in this country were marked by the forming of several organizations, all having the general purpose of bettering social conditions, but each seeing its own program as of greatest importance. Perhaps the best grouping of the three major bodies of opinion would be; first, those whose primary object was to treat and cure the venereal diseases by medical measures; second, those who were affronted by the commercial prostitution which prevailed so widely and waged their fight by means of legal measures; and third, that group who were bent mainly on securing wholesome, accurate, character-training education for all—particularly for youth. In the early years of this century various members of these groups commenced to think more and more in terms of a broader program which would include the best features of all of their individualistic plans and would unite the forces working toward a common end. This realization of the desirability of and necessity for a far-seeing, comprehensive program to meet the many and varied problems which are inherent in this field resulted in the merger of the several most important voluntary agencies in 1914 and the formation of the American Social Hygiene Association.

At this time the most urgent phase of the movement was the combating of the venereal diseases. Clinics were few and far between; many

physicians refused to treat persons infected with these diseases; quacks flourished and the public was inclined to be either apathetic or antagonistic. Most of these handicaps were due to a failure to distinguish between the public health aspect of syphilis and gonorrhea and the moral issues involved. To many people the sufferer from a venereal disease was merely a victim of his own folly, whereas public support and appropriations could be enlisted more readily for fighting other plagues. This being so, it was but natural for national, state and local health officials to hew to the line of least resistance and make their major efforts in fields where they were certain of sympathy from their taxpaying constituents. Less than ten years ago it was the exception rather than the rule to find a hospital where venereal disease patients might find refuge.

To note all the progress in this field would require volumes but some idea of it may be conveyed in a brief summary. As against the fewer than 200 public clinics in 1912 there are today more than 800. If current medical literature is a mirror of prevailing interest of physicians we may be sure that no other medical problem has engaged or is now engaging the interest of the profession more than that of venereal disease control, both in its curative and social aspects. The quack doctor and quack nostrums have been driven from the field to a great extent by means of laws and ordinances directed against their advertising. The United States government through the establishment of the Division of Venereal Disease in the U. S. Public Health Service has given national recognition to the importance of controlling these diseases. Like recognition of their capacity for disabling and destroying has been given by all states but one, and a majority of the outstanding municipalities, through assignments of personnel and the maintenance of clinics. Thanks partly to a memorable resolution passed two years ago by the American Hospital Association most hospital doors are now open for those who have syphilis or gonococcus infection in stages which require hospitalization. The great war was a most important factor in the advancement of the program of control measures but the study and experiments carried on by voluntary organizations during the ten years prior was the foundation on which the present effective structure was built.

The next problem of outstanding importance which offered promise of resultful effort was that of minimizing commercialized prostitution. As a focus of venereal disease infection and as a wrecker of family life this market for sexual promiscuity had gained a most unenviable reputation. The Rockefeller grand jury investigation of the white slave traffic in New York city in 1910 was followed by a series of similar investigations throughout the country. Much of the graft, social rot, and disease for which the exploiters of prostitution were responsible, were exposed during these hearings and general public disgust of the evil was aroused. The sending of Abraham Flexner to Europe in 1913 to study prostitution conditions and the publication by the Bureau of Social Hygiene of the results of this study was a second powerful blow to adherents of the old system. There still are a number of persons in this country who believe that segregation and medical regulation of prostitution is the best method for dealing with it but so strong a preponderance of public opinion now demands the suppression of prostitution that the latter may be considered the settled policy in the United States. The 10 year period from 1910-1920 saw the abolition of more than 200 red light districts and there are but few communities which continue to harbor open, recognized vice sections. The so-called standard laws against prostitution are absolutely impartial but their administration in some communities has been open to criticism. During the past three years, however, a notable and healthy trend toward equal justice for the sexes has featured legal efforts in fighting prostitution. Public recognition of the necessity for legal measures in this field is general but volunteer agencies cannot yet reduce their efforts here to the extent possible in the medical field because our public authorities are not equipped with the funds or personnel to carry out a program comparable to the official medical measures now in operation.

With the study of commercialized prostitution and the successful fight against it there has come a realization that the protection of young people in danger of becoming sex delinquents is a vital link in the armament against both prostitution and the venereal diseases. The safeguarding of play and amusement facilities whether they be

commercial or free; the work which policewomen and school visitors carry on; in fact the protective supervision of the community's youth in general, for the prevention of sex-delinquency should be woven into the social hygiene pattern. A dance hall may furnish wholesome recreation or it may be merely a place for the promotion of promiscuity; a playground offers the same possibilities. Among other facilities the motion picture theatre, the billiard parlor, the road house and cabaret all demand supervision as they often are used by the present-day exploiters of prostitution.

The protection of youth should receive even greater attention than the rehabilitation of sex offenders because a stronger effort directed toward protection would ensure fewer offenders. Most young people are readily influenced by their environment, either toward clean, wholesome living or the reverse according as that environment is good or bad. Past emphasis in this field has been on detention and rescue homes, reformatories and other rehabilitative facilities rather than on measures which would tend to make such facilities less essential. The trend of protective measures today however, is toward cleaning up and keeping clean, the environment rather than neglecting it; toward the appropriation of more public funds for the *prevention* of delinquency rather than the use of these funds for *salvaging* projects.

Quite apart from any protection against the moral hazards of prostitution and sexual promiscuity and from the dangers of the venereal diseases, the normal use of sex as a great influence on life is important. The careful upbringing of youth; the safeguards which parents attempt to throw about their children; the sanctity of marriage; the expressed laws of state and church; and that valuable, though at times indefinite, body of sentiments, prejudices, rules and dicta called "convention;" all these testify to the vital significance which we, as a people, attach to the right use of sex for the greatest good of the individual and of the race. This necessity, however, has not been explained tactfully, cleanly, and helpfully to each generation as its members have advanced from childhood to adult life and parenthood. The disastrous silence maintained by so large a proportion of parents and educators

alike has given the incompetent, the quack, and the ill-advised enthusiast unlimited opportunities to victimize each generation in turn.

The opposition to sex-education often comes from those who do not understand either its content or technic. Many of its opponents are in the position of that candidate for political office who filed charges against his opponent because the latter had called him a "sexagenarian." The two men were both seeking a seat in the lower branch of their state legislature. One sent out a circular, in which, after setting forth his own vigorous opposition to the sex educational program, he referred to his opponent as a "sexagenarian." His adversary alleged that the term was used to impress upon voters that he favored the teaching of sex hygiene.

Present activities in this aspect of social hygiene include the integration of proper sex education into the routine courses of higher institutions of learning. The same caution, sureness of ground, and demonstration of practicability before advancing any proposals, which have characterized the development of the whole social hygiene program, mark the efforts in education. Those educational leaders primarily responsible for it agree absolutely that the home is the best starting place for sex instruction and that parents, if equipped, are the ideal persons to give it. They agree further, however, that sex education, as a normal phase of character education as a whole, is a progressive process which should cover the period from earliest childhood through maturity and beyond. In this process all agencies which have to do with the education and training of the individual must play their parts. Schools, colleges, and churches must build upon and supplement the work of parents. As for instruction in matters of sex as a grade-school activity—here, as in the higher institutions, sex instruction must come as a normal feature of broader subjects. Until parents and educators have been brought to the point of action along sound lines in this field, volunteer agencies must bear the burden of progress as they have in the preceding phases of the movement.

Taken geographically, throughout the Western Hemisphere there is a considerable measure of agreement on many features of the social hygiene movement. With a few exceptions the program in

Canada is similar to that of the United States, and many features of this broad scheme have been adopted in Central and South America. The All-American Conference on Venereal Diseases and Social Hygiene held in Washington, D. C., December 1920, under the auspices of the American Red Cross, the United States Public Health Service, and the American Social Hygiene Association brought together leaders from all the Americas and resulted in the locating and development of many common-ground basic principles for work. Attempts to regulate prostitution still are made in the Latin American countries but groups of forward-looking scientists and educators are making progress in creating informed public opinion on this question. They are handicapped by their lack of national organization and publicity but already in Argentina, Peru and Chile volunteer agencies are putting to good use the motion pictures, exhibits, and literature which have proved their value in this country. Medical measures to control the venereal diseases are used effectively in the Americas as well as in Europe but the change in social viewpoint which, in the United States and Canada at least, has resulted in a policy of *abolition* of prostitution, is not a universal one. England, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland and Czechoslovakia do not tolerate prostitution but, as

opposed to these countries, we find Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, still trying to deal with prostitution by making it safe. India, China, and Japan in the Far East may be classed with this latter group although there are influential people in these countries working to change conditions. The widening sphere of feminist influence promises increased reinforcement to those working for social betterment but the outlook does not promise much for the early abolition of Japan's Yoshiwara system, the elimination of the prostitute caste in India, or the ending of girl slavery in China.

Just as Europe looks westward for a solution of many of her prevailing economic problems, however, so do an increasing number of foreign social hygiene students expect help and guidance from the United States in solving the many perplexing social hygiene problems which confront them, individually and nationally. This country's program based on scientific and demonstrated principles, with education as its base, and medicine, law, recreation and publicity to be used as supplementary measures while needed, gives promise of being a program worthy of universal application.

SHALL PENNSYLVANIA HAVE COUNTY BOARDS OF WELFARE?

CAROLINE W. JONES

PENNSYLVANIA surely needs a unified program of welfare in each county. The populous centres report much duplication while whole counties depend entirely upon the State public health nurse for everything in social work, from a baby clinic to adult parole.

What will bring this program to pass? Shall it be the slow process of information or the swifter one of legislation? Shall Pennsylvania take her place among progressive states and shall County Boards become an actual fact or shall we only continue, to dream and hope? Friendly contacts, helpful service and a quiet enthusiasm for what unity of purpose will do for our great human needs must win out but one gets impatient for the day.

Tales of feeble-mindedness, tales of delinquency, tales of neglect meet one in every place and the wonder is why a state so rich in tradition, in leadership and resources should be a laggard in any phase of the social realm.

Tradition, of course, plays a large part in the complacency of our older states and Pennsylvania has philanthropic organizations which boast charters fifty, one hundred and more years old and institutions which proudly claim that their directors are descendants of the first board. Progressive spirits, forced to abide by "we have always done it this way," find outlet for new ideas in starting another institution or agency. In children's work alone Pennsylvania has 364 private organizations.

Special legislation, the topography of our counties and a complex population are perhaps the main obstacles to county organization. Since 1874 there has been no special legislation for counties but the legislatures of the previous ninety years were most generous in providing laws which oftentimes block all social plans. Wide is the range of these laws of special privilege for not only does it affect poor relief but taxes are gathered and a County Children's Home managed by special acts.

There are about seventeen hundred poor laws which a Code Commission is now endeavoring to unscramble and an effort will be made to adopt a county unit plan for poor relief in all counties. Pennsylvania at present administers her poor funds in four ways—by County Commissioners, by County Boards of Poor Directors, by Township Overseers of the Poor and by a mixed County Board of Poor Directors appointed in a judicial district. When in addition to these methods one considers counties having special privileges one senses the confusion which exists. To illustrate:

One county is administering its poor funds according to a law of 1798; it has been *locally* interpreted to forbid outdoor relief except in dire emergencies so in 1922 only three hundred dollars was given from a budget of \$132,000. But an examination of the law shows that the Directors of the Poor are really governed by tradition rather than by an actual law. In another county a special act of 1882 really forbids all help to the indigent except that given in the county almshouse.

The township system, which exists in twenty-one counties, causes many personal hardships; it also is expensive in administration. One township advertised for the maintenance of a paralyzed laboring man who, overtaken by illness and having no resources, became a charge on his township. Naturally the lowest bid came from a family living in an unspeakably dirty hovel. In a township in another county a feeble-minded family has been maintained by public relief for fourteen years, the children of the family increasing meanwhile from two to seven.

Only four out of Pennsylvania's sixty-seven counties had real county consciousness before the Great War, but with Red Cross, National Coun-

cil of Defense, and Liberty Loans, county consciousness increased though even then eight counties had no organization for Council of Defense and a few so-called chapters of Red Cross were hydra-headed. Ability to think in county terms is coming, though slowly, in spite of bad roads, valley consciousness and mountains which cut counties in two. In such counties election day has been the sole reminder of county obligations. Wyoming Valley proudly proclaims its Indian massacre in the days of the French and Indian War while in a certain county "north of the mountain" and "south of the mountain" figures largely in any conversation on social conditions. To be a farmer in the Cumberland Valley means luscious fruits, bountiful crops, large barns and a comfortable home so why bother about county lines which, say these mountain and valley dwellers, are but imaginary boundaries?

Good roads to county seats are being built and will play a large part in overcoming natural dividing lines. The second largest town in one county only goes to its county seat when compelled to file legal papers and secures its marriage licenses in another and more accessible county. School consolidation and the work of the Farm Agent should be mentioned as factors which are increasingly being felt in the unifying of counties.

The Mothers' Assistance Fund is administered on a county plan and is financed on a fifty-fifty basis of state and county funds; after ten years of work there are still twelve counties where this plan has not been accepted. These twelve counties cannot all be said to lack county spirit any more than it can be said that the fifty-five have county spirit; but this statement is included in this article to show the length of time it takes Pennsylvania to grasp a new phase of social work especially when that social work has to do with the county as a unit.

There are counties whose stretches of rich farm land provide easy soil for new ideas while a county which is an aggregation of mining and industrial villages presents an area of prejudice. There are counties where the huge ice harvest of winter and the visitors in summer make an all year round floating population.

Just where the barriers formed by rivers and mountains end and the barriers of race begin is not easily definable. Pennsylvania's almost nine

million citizens present every racial problem except that of the Japanese.

Original grants of land from William Penn are still lived upon by descendants of the first settlers while a short distance away may be families just over with the last quota from Eastern Europe. Negroes and Central Americans work side by side in steel mills while Polish Jews are buying small farms.

Living conditions in counties are as varied as the population; company-owned towns exist in the same counties with towns whose houses and furniture speak of Colonial days. Great farm houses modernized by all that electricity can do are but a few miles from tenant farm houses which are a disgrace to their owners. Unequal conditions likewise abound in the social work fields; examples good and bad can be quoted on any sort of work or institution.

A Children's Code Commission was authorized by the last legislature to sort out the more than fifteen hundred laws on children and make, from this mass of contradictory and perhaps obsolete legislation, recommendations to the 1925 legislature.

For a year the Department of Welfare of Pennsylvania has carried on a consistent and persistent plan of information, no group has been too small nor no audience too big for a speech upon the value of coöperation. Rotary Clubs, Kiwanis Clubs, women's organizations, church organizations, state conventions, social workers' meetings and special groups of representative people have heard what a County Welfare Board can mean in the realm of social progress.

Five counties have volunteer boards consisting of representative citizens and county government officials with a chairman appointed for a two year term by the Secretary of Welfare. Without a paid executive for welfare work and in one case without even county money for post cards they are demonstrating what can be done by "togetherness." These counties represent varied types and problems; one of them is of predominantly Quaker stock or as they would say, of the Society of Friends. Here we find the only Pennsylvania County with a county-wide plan and executive for recreation. Here is the birthplace or experiment station of many welfare ideas; here is almost unlimited leadership and resources but here is

also duplication of effort which it is hoped a County Welfare Board may clear up.

A county only a hundred miles away, entirely rural, with most limited private and county funds, with no social agencies, presents a vastly different angle for County Board work whose best reason for being is that there may be some group to whom the needy may turn.

Two counties widely separated are trying this welfare plan since they have money and at least some good leadership. Oil and gas wells have brought wealth to one of these while the thriftiness of the Pennsylvania German has made the other a noted agricultural county.

The fifth county has almost every racial and industrial problem. Glass works, steel mills and bituminous mines teem with the foreign born while its farms, its college, its schools, its government largely are manned by the descendants of Scotch-Irish settlers who crossed the mountains and founded this county in pre-revolutionary days.

Given these five pioneering and brave County Boards and given a continual flow of information, it is hoped that a vision of coöperation will grip this Keystone State; then and then only can she hold a place in the arch of social welfare; when this happens, once more will Pennsylvania be Penn's Woods, where freedom and justice and brotherly love abound.

THE KINDERGARTEN AND OTHER SCHOOL SOCIAL WORK

MARY E. LEEPER

PROBLEMS of education have in the past been chiefly concerned with the effort to devise methods by which children could be led to acquire the greatest amount of knowledge with the greatest ease and in the shortest possible space of time. But today we are turning from this blind tradition and facing the issue that, far more important than merely handing out the facts of knowledge, is the development in the children of the social qualities of adaptability, resourcefulness, perseverance, creative imagination, willingness to accept criticism, ability to work in a group, and to keep in the child a fresh enthusiasm and an eager desire for learning. Dr. Dewey says, "Information is knowledge which is merely acquired and stored up; wisdom is

knowledge operating in the direction of powers to the better living of life."

The great problems arising from the groupings of persons are the most perplexing of life, even for grown people; for children they are acute, because of their dependence upon others and their inability to make their own way, physically or industrially.

Some people of today think that the kindergarten is a place where children play, but learn very little. Dr. Dewey shows that its curriculum comes out of social life and works back into social life.

While the kindergarten stands for completely rounded growth,—physical, intellectual, social and spiritual,—we are particularly interested in the development of the social side; the learning to live with and for other people. The informal character of kindergarten work makes it possible for the children to find themselves in situations like, or very similar to, those they find in society outside the school. They have the opportunity of singing and talking together, of working and playing together; times when they must submit their personal wishes to the wishes of the group; times when they feel the need of help from others, and times when they have the glorious opportunity of giving needed help to some other child. Whenever a group undertakes some project, at least one natural leader will appear to take charge of affairs. This brings with it all the mental discipline that is found in the organized work of adults.

The educational and social value of learning to work in harmonious groups, of leading and being led for the sake of accomplishing a much-to-be-desired end, of surmounting obstacles and striving toward a predetermined goal, are too obvious to need comment. Where children are freely playing and working together, where they are sharing with each other, coöperating and assisting each other, we have opportunity for the only kind of moral and social training that is really effective. With freedom of choice, limited environment as it is in the kindergarten, comes a thoughtful growth; with ideas to work out comes a clearly made plan; with a realized need of knowing certain facts comes the joy of discovery of the power to find out these facts; with the need of a leader is born the power to lead; with responsibility comes stability of character.

The children of four and five years are forming habits that will make for a happy life, or the opposite. On the tendencies and instincts developed by use, or killed by disuse, will depend the usefulness and happiness of their adult lives and those associated with them. In a study made recently of the normal activities of children between the ages of four and seven, it was found that over fifty per cent of those activities are social in character, that is, they require the coöperation of the the group to bring them to fulfillment. Surely, then, we must give these younger children the chance to live in a group of individuals of their own age and interests, where materials are furnished that will give the proper stimulus, where they may have the right to practice that highest form of liberty, which is "working with people, and not without them." There is only one way of having children know how to use liberty, and that is by giving it to them and teaching them how to use it. We cannot overgovern and then turn loose a socially responsible individual. The technique of anything to be learned must be learned in the medium in which it is to be applied. One must learn to swim in water. There is a technique concerning social government. To have mastered it the child must learn it in the medium of a small democracy. In the atmosphere of liberty and freedom the child can assume responsibility and form habits of action which will function in his out-of-school life. The technique of democracy involves learning to direct oneself and learning how to work with and for others.

Few adults know how to give and take. Somewhere the school must have failed in socializing them as children. The rights of society must be considered as well as the rights of the children.

Society has the right to know that every child is developing in character. Fletcher says, "As long as there is one neglected child in society, society is not safe. He is a germ that may infect others."

The mutual rights of the individual and of society demand that the state realize its obligations to educate every child—not only the child of six, but the child of four and five; so that when he enters first grade he may already have a broader, more intelligent interest in various phases of his social environment; an eager, receptive attitude toward new experiences; an in-

creased ability to adjust himself to social situations; an increased power to think and work independently; thus, during the impressionable years of early childhood, laying the foundations for a social spirit resulting from coöperative effort toward common ends.

TREND OF CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920-1923

THE UNITED STATES Children's Bureau has recently brought up to date, through June of this year, an analysis of an earlier study of the numbers of children between 14 and 16 years of age receiving employment certificates during the period 1913 to 1920 in some 30 representative cities of the country. While these figures of employment certificates are open to obvious limitations, they indicate in a general way the trend in the numbers of children going to work at gainful employment from January, 1920 to June, 1923.

Two tables of figures are shown. Table 1 gives the certificate figures for the cities furnishing statistics for at least two of the years of the period covered—that is, 1920 to 1922, inclusive—with the per cent of increase or decrease each year as compared with the preceding year, and the per cent of increase or decrease in 1920 as compared with certain significant years beginning with 1913.

Table 2 gives the number of certificates issued by half years during the period, January, 1920 to June, 1923, and the per cent of increase or decrease in each city in each half year period as compared with the corresponding period in the preceding year.

In general, the trend of child labor fluctuates according to business conditions. Child labor began to decline in the late summer of 1920 at the beginning of the recent business and industrial depression. Of 31 cities furnishing statistics on the number of children taking out work permits in 1920 and 1921, only four reported an increase, while the remaining twenty-seven cities reported very large decreases, in some cases the decrease being as high as seventy per cent. In 1922 the number of children taking out their first work permits began to mount. Of 35 cities for which statistics were secured, 21 reported increases and only 14 decreases, the increases in five of the cities being over one hundred per cent. The latest figures indicate still further increases. For the 30 cities furnishing comparable data the total percentage of increase in the six month ending June 30, 1923 over the corresponding six months in 1922 is 36.7. Child labor statistics would indicate, therefore, that we are passing through a period of industrial expansion and business prosperity.

The week of November 18-25, formally set aside as National Education Week provides for many opportunities for the broader consideration of Current Social Forces.

The annual meetings of the American Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work with the American Sociological Society grow more interesting each year as the number of schools increases: this year they meet on Thursday, December 27th, at Washington. Railroad rates of one and one-half fare.

Conferences for Social Work

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE 1924 NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

GRACE ABBOTT

The National Conference of Social Work—our fifty-first Conference—is to meet in Toronto in 1924. If the Local Committee has its way, and the Local Committee usually does on this point—the last week in June, when the vacation season has begun and the University buildings will be at our disposal, will be conference week.

The Program Committee is seeking to secure that combination of the theoretical and the practical which will give scope to our imaginations and a solid place on which to stand. Will the readers of The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES make it a success by helpful suggestions before the Conference and by attendance and participation in the discussions?

MODIFICATION OF HOME SERVICE STANDARDS TO MEET CONDITIONS IN SMALL CITIES AND TOWNS AND RURAL COMMUNITIES*

JESSE FREDERICK STEINER

HOME SERVICE as developed by the American Red Cross will soon have completed seven years of active work. Having its origin distinctively as a war measure, it did not reach the height of its usefulness until after the armistice, and today it is still being carried on as an essential part of the work of the Red Cross in fulfilling its obligation to ex-service men as well as in its civilian work.

Five years ago few believed that Home Service would be needed for any great length of time. It was generally felt that the claims of ex-service men could be adjusted within a reasonable period and then Home Service as a Red Cross activity could be discontinued. Some, it is true, had caught a vision of the possibilities of Home Service in relation to civilian families and urged its adoption as a permanent part of the program of the Red Cross. But this suggestion brought forth at first much difference of opinion

and it gained with difficulty wholehearted support. In a large number of chapters during the past few years Home Service has been extended to civilian families but its continued activities have not depended entirely upon this fact. Today, almost five years after the signing of the armistice, all wide awake chapters find Home Service still in demand to help in the adjustment of the claims of ex-service men. And what is of equal importance it is now clearly seen that the Red Cross cannot look forward in the near future to any escape from these war-time obligations. This means that Home Service entirely apart from any deliberate choice on the part of the Red Cross has through this long continued work gone far toward establishing itself as a permanent activity. During these years traditions of helpful Home Service have been built up by chapter secretaries which have deeply impressed the minds of the people. The public, especially in those sections of the country where social service is not highly developed, have quite naturally

* An address given before the National Convention of the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C., Sept. 27, 1923.

come to feel that they can look to the Red Cross chapter for practical expressions of sympathy when misfortune or distress comes to any member of their community. Home Service in the sense of intelligent and wisely directed personal service is becoming in an increasing measure a Red Cross tradition that cannot be ignored.

We are, therefore, not debating today as we did five years ago whether Home Service should be continued. The problem facing us at present is what modifications have become necessary in order that it might better adapt itself to changing conditions. And more specifically how can Home Service standards be made to fit the requirements of the small city, town, and rural community.

The first thing to be kept in mind is that the essential nature of Home Service has been determined by its war work and that any proposed modification should be in line with instead of running counter to its natural development. Home service from the beginning has been fundamentally some form of personal service to individuals or families in need and has required the technique of case work in order to be carried out most efficiently. The rendering of this service to soldiers and their families did not bring with it the taint of charity although much money was expended in their behalf. And the extension of this service to civilian families in chapters where conditions have made this advisable has not turned the Red Cross into a great relief organization as some have feared. On the contrary it has more and more become evident that this form of personal service fits in well with the popular conception of the spirit of the Red Cross and rounds out most acceptably its chapter program. In my opinion, any tendency to modify Home Service that would turn it away from personal service and redirect its activities into the field of community work would be very unfortunate. Community work, of course, must be an essential part of chapter activities, for branches must be developed, committees organized and put to work, relationships with other organizations worked out, and leadership be given in the solution of community problems. But to give this the name of Home Service and at the same time ignore the opportunity to render service to families in distress would be a definite break with the past

which would destroy the accumulated momentum gained through the years of war service.

In general this may seem to answer the question as to the proper trend of Home Service in chapter development. There remains, however, the even more perplexing problem as to how this spirit of Home Service is to be expressed in the rural or small town chapter unable or unwilling to provide itself with trained leadership. What form should Home Service take in the chapter where there is no real recognition of skilled service? Can the Red Cross afford to lend its name to work far below generally accepted standards? On the other hand should the Red Cross make such a fetish of standards that it would permit needed work to remain undone when there is danger of its being done imperfectly?

Here we strike the serious problem faced by the Red Cross in 1917 when it attempted the unprecedented task of furnishing Home Service to soldier's and sailor's families in every chapter throughout the entire country. Trained social workers were not available for all the Home Service sections but in view of the war emergency the organization was not criticized for undertaking this stupendous task. Since the war, however, there has been considerable feeling that the Red Cross in its laudable desire to conserve its war gains has broken down standards of Home Service to an extent that existing conditions do not warrant. It is exceedingly unwise, the critics say, to encourage chapters to maintain Home Service where it is reasonably certain that this work will not be done in an adequate manner.

At first glance a criticism of this kind seems fully justified but closer analysis makes it evident that it is based on an imperfect knowledge of all the factors involved. Light, perhaps, can best be thrown on the problem by calling to mind the development of our public school system. Great inequalities in public school standards, as is well known, have existed for many years. The trained teachers have found their way into the larger centers while the village and rural schools have gone ahead with inadequate leadership. But the point is that they have gone ahead and furnished the instruction they were capable of giving. While school authorities and educators deplored the low standards of these schools, the suggestion was not made that schools be estab-

lished in the villages and rural districts only when the higher standards of teaching and equipment demanded by the city were available. Neither was there widespread fear that the low standards of rural schools would bring education into disrepute and gradually undermine the standards of the profession of teaching. When it was a choice between illiteracy and inadequate schools, there was no hesitation as to the proper course to follow. And the gradual but sure advance that has been made in the efficiency of these more isolated schools has justified the attempt to build them up from rather crude beginnings. Careful supervision, state and county aid where necessary, and the growth of public opinion in regard to the value of a good education have made it inevitable that these backward schools should improve year by year instead of dragging the public school system down to their level.

It seems to me that this experience in the development of public school education brings a real lesson to those interested in the building up of social welfare agencies. The first steps in the social progress of a community must be taken by the people themselves and can not be too far ahead of their resources and their recognition of what needs to be done. The Red Cross chapter that springs into activity because of a widespread feeling that it must express itself in deeds of personal service and neighborly helpfulness has a secure foundation upon which adequate technique can sooner or later be built. The will to serve must be taken advantage of when the tide of emotion is full or else indifference will take its place and the opportunity for progress will be lost. Any fears that we may have that social work standards will be injured by the crude beginnings of Home Service in these less favored communities spring from a mistaken idea of the course of sound progress. Careful supervision on the part of the field staff and the bringing in of new ideas and methods through contact with other chapters and social agencies will eventually ensure the attainment of proper standards.

We must frankly face the fact that a large number of Red Cross chapters are so situated that they are not likely to have either the will or the ability to employ trained leadership for years to come. In the communities represented by these chapters the Red Cross has a unique oppor-

tunity for it frequently stands out as the only organization capable of directing the attention of the people to the problems of community welfare. The inability of these chapters to measure up to the requirements of Red Cross policy should not be the sole determining factor in any decision as to whether those chapters should be active or not. If the national organization is to measure up to its responsibility, it must see to it that it has a program suited to these local conditions. Here, after all, is the crux of the situation as far as Home Service in small towns and rural communities is concerned. The policies and programs and methods of Home Service have been worked out to meet the situation existing in the larger and more prosperous communities and it is unfair to the smaller communities to measure their Red Cross loyalty by their success or failure in putting over a program ill adapted to their needs and resources. Before deciding whether Home Service is practicable in the sparsely settled communities, a more serious effort must be made to reinterpret Home Service in terms of small town and rural conditions.

It may be at once objected that Home Service is based essentially on case work technique and that the former is impracticable if a skilled case worker is lacking. Much can be brought forward in support of this objection but we cannot be sure that it embodies the whole truth. We now see that social case work grew up because of the breakdown of neighborliness in the complex secondary relationships of the large city. The anonymity of city life, the disintegrating forces of congested areas, and the keenness of the economic struggle among people of restricted opportunities have made inevitable in the city a rather elaborate technique for adjusting disadvantaged people to their environment. But to attempt to transplant this technique bodily to a simpler social situation where primary relationships are still maintained is to go backward instead of forward. This does not mean that social case work has no place in the rural or small town community. It simply calls attention to the fact that the vast differences in the social organization of the small community and the large city frequently make necessary not merely different methods of work but also a different approach to the situation. The problem of Home Service in the

small chapter will best be solved not by persuading the chapter leaders to adopt the program and methods of the city but by working out a program suited to a more simple social situation where emphasis perhaps must be on volunteer rather than on paid service.

If I attempt to be more specific and suggest in detail how Home Service standards may be modified to meet the needs of the small chapter, I shall simply be adding my guess to those already made. The difficulty is that we have had too many guesses and too few controlled experiments designed to get at the problem in a scientific manner. If I were to criticize the policy of the Red Cross in this matter, I would say that there has been too much reliance upon the trial and error method, by which I mean a tendency to expect poorly trained or volunteer secretaries to work out their own salvation by following the line of least resistance. It would be unfair, however, to leave the impression that the Red Cross has gone blindly ahead in its rural and small town Home Service work without seeking counsel and assistance of expert rural leaders. Such counsel has been sought in various ways and different types of programs have been tried out, but no one would be so bold as to claim that the Red Cross has yet arrived at any satisfactory method of meeting the social service needs of the smaller communities.

The suggestion that I have to make is that the Red Cross with its immense resources of money and personnel institute a series of thorough going experiments in a limited number of its smaller chapters where conditions seem most adverse for the purpose of finding out the answer to this question in so far as it is now capable of solution. If three or five years ago the Red Cross had inaugurated in the Home Service field experiments similar to those now going on under the auspices of the Commonwealth Fund to determine the proper function and program of the visiting teacher, we would now not need to speak about this problem in such uncertain terms. A beginning has already been made by the Red Cross in this demonstration work through its valuable experiments in rural organization in Clark and Muskingum county chapters in Ohio. What is needed now is a more comprehensive study of those sections of the country where limited popu-

lation and resources make a successful Red Cross program exceedingly difficult.

Civilian Home Service represents the most far reaching and ambitious attempt to meet the social service needs of the more backward and isolated communities in our country. Because of the prestige of the Red Cross many people are willing to support Home Service who have never before given serious consideration to the problems with which Home Service deals. Yet in spite of this good will civilian Home Service has not yet made any very notable achievements in the particular field where it is needed most. Unquestionably there must be some modification of Home Service standards in the small town and rural chapters or this opportunity of the Red Cross will soon be lost. In my opinion the situation calls for a concentrated attack upon this problem, an attack which will include as its main feature a liberal appropriation for the building up of demonstration chapters in the more sparsely settled counties. Such a policy carried out in a thorough going way over a three year period ought to prove of untold value to the whole organization besides rendering a distinct service to the entire field of community welfare.

The above suggestion has particular reference to those chapters so situated that the employment of a full time secretary seems impracticable. There still remains the problem of the chapters where there is a full time secretary but whose training and experience are inadequate. Under such circumstances it is not a question whether Home Service standards should be modified to meet their local situation. They are being modified out of necessity and too frequently in an ill advised way that brings the chapter into disrepute. As long as lack of resources and scarcity of skilled workers make the employment of poorly trained secretaries necessary, the Home Service problem will not be solved merely by deciding how standards are to be modified. For whatever standards are agreed upon, their attainment will largely depend upon the quality of the personnel in charge of chapter work. It becomes of great importance, therefore, for the Red Cross to pay close attention to the continued training of its chapter secretaries. A lesson should be learned from such national organizations as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian

Associations which have found it advisable to maintain at considerable expense training courses for their personnel in their various local associations. What I would advocate for the Red Cross would be the adoption of a strong educational program designed to build up the morale and technique of its chapter secretaries many of whom are struggling under adverse conditions to meet problems beyond their training and experience. This situation might well be met by the revival and wider extension of the plan of Red Cross summer training courses to which deserving secretaries could be sent for a month's study and round table discussion, a share of their expense to be covered by a scholarship fund provided by the national organization. Through this means continuous growth of chapter leadership would be assured and the national organization would be following the most effective method of instilling its ideals into those who after all will have the largest part in determining the direction of chapter development.

Unless some such educational program is carried out consistently over a period of years, I do

not see how the rank and file of chapter secretaries in the more sparsely settled chapters can grow with their organization and maintain any reasonable standards that may be set up. It must be remembered that the Home Service program is an unusually daring effort to promote community welfare and that it has thrown a burden of responsibility upon hundreds of small communities that would not likely have been assumed for years to come if it had not been for the Red Cross appeal to their loyalty and devotion. To expect these communities to anticipate their normal development by years and to carry forward their Home Service work with the limited assistance that can be given by the division field staff is simply to invite disaster. The situation demands not merely a modification of Home Service standards to meet conditions in small cities and towns and rural communities but also a carefully devised training program administered in such a way as to make it readily available for the leadership of the chapters in these communities.

PAUPERISM AND CRIME IN WISCONSIN

J. L. GILLIN

FOR THE year ending July 1, 1921, the net cost to the tax payers of the state of Wisconsin for support of state charitable and penal institutions was \$3,501,712. In addition to this sum, the towns, cities, villages and counties spent for charities and corrections \$7,598,921. Thus the total cost, so far as we can secure the figures, of the care of paupers, delinquents, insane, and defectives of the state amount to a total of \$11,100,633.

This sum is so enormous that a few comparisons will help us to appreciate it. We have heard it said that our state government in Wisconsin is expensive. The cost of the entire state government in the same year noted above was \$7,460,276, or a less sum than was spent by the towns, cities, villages and counties on charities and corrections, or to put it another way, the cost of support of these social incapables was \$3,500,000 more than the entire cost of our state government.

For the same period the cost of running the University and normal schools was \$2,860,500 or about \$800,000 less than we spent on our state charitable and correctional institutions. If however, we include the amount spent by our towns, cities, villages and counties, the University and the nine normal schools cost the tax payers only about one-fourth of the amount spent by the tax payers of the state on these various classes of social incompetents.

Doubtless, other factors than the eugenic factors must be invoked to account for the pauperism, delinquency and other social results which enter into this enormous expenditure by the state. Nevertheless, the Wisconsin Mental Efficiency Survey published in 1920, for the first time gives us some conception of the part played in pauperism and crime by defectives, which have an interest for eugenists. 12 per cent of the prisoners examined at the state prison were found to be feeble-minded, while 59 per cent of them deviated

from normal mental health. It was found in the prison that 45 per cent of the inmates were chronic repeaters. Of these 91 per cent showed marked handicap in their personality makeup, a condition largely dependent upon their mentality.

At the state reformatory for men, 12.6 per cent of the inmates were feeble-minded, while 41 per cent of them had mental age of 12 years or under and 81 per cent showed personality trend and character defects that were probably factors in their delinquency. Over 46 per cent of these young men were found to be subnormal or defective in intelligence or handicapped by psychopathic personality.

In the Industrial School for Boys, 10.8 per cent were found to be feeble-minded and 36.6 per cent were either subnormal in intelligence, feeble-minded, epileptic, or had psychopathic personality. 30 per cent of these boys were recidivists.

At the State Industrial School for Girls, while only 10.5 per cent were found to be feeble-minded, 81 per cent showed mental traits and character defects which influenced their conduct. Over 50 per cent were either subnormal in intelligence, feeble-minded, epileptic or handicapped with psychopathic personality.

Inmates of 17 typical county jails were examined. Of these 16 per cent were feeble-minded, 45 per cent were handicapped by some mental or nervous abnormality and 17.5 per cent had been arrested more than once before. The inmates of the Milwaukee House of Correction showed one out of ten to be feeble-minded, while 83 per cent gave evidence of personality difficulties and character defects. 53.5 per cent of them had been arrested more than once. The inmates of the Milwaukee House of Detention, the institution in which are detained Juvenile Court cases, showed 8 per cent of feeble-mindedness and 12 per cent of border line mental defects. 61 per cent of them had a mental makeup which affected their delinquency. 23 per cent of these children had been arrested more than once and 13 per cent were chronic repeaters.

Of nearly 1,400 inmates of county homes, 53 per cent were either subnormal in intelligence, feeble-minded, epileptic, psychopathic or were suffering from mental disease. At the Mil-

waukee Home for Dependent Children, 47.5 per cent were handicapped by some abnormal, nervous or mental condition. At the State Public School at Sparta 11 per cent were feeble-minded, while 75 per cent showed deviation from normal personality.

125 cases of various private social agencies were studied and showed that about 65 per cent deviated from normal mental health.

Finally, over 8,000 children from district public schools, city, town and rural in the state, showed about 2 out of 100 either feeble-minded, or border line feeble-minded, 2/10 of 1 per cent epileptic, 3.8 per cent afflicted with some form of special defect.

These figures are significant of the dependence on an improvement in our state upon eugenic conditions. With some 16,000 to 18,000 mental defectives in the state, and with provisions for proper care of only about 1,200, the situation is rather serious. It has been found that mental defective families bring to maturity an average of 4.4 children, whereas, the families with normal mentality produce only 3.3 mature persons. With these tendencies not interfered with by social measures, it is only a question of time when our modern humanitarianism and indiscriminate care of all needy persons will swamp the state with defectives. We can go on building prisons, institutions for paupers of various kinds, institutions for defectives, but unless we begin to stop the evil at its source, we shall not get far in our struggle to diminish the pauperism, crime and vice and mental defect which are a menace, not only to our prosperity, but to the very stock itself.

Perhaps a few concrete illustrations will indicate how pauperism looks in certain families which have been studied. The following are from the Wisconsin Mental Deficiency Survey:

B Family: This family is particularly well known in the city in which they live, principally because they have been known to be dependent upon public charity for the past 30 odd years. Overseers of the poor, church organizations, relief agencies, women's clubs, neighbors, and strangers, have nurtured and cared for them, enabled them to thrive and reproduce themselves, from generation to generation.

The father is 61 years of age. He is a mental defective and has always been considered by his neighbors as "half baked," "half witted," "not all there." He is said to be "always looking for a job, but never gets one." He has never worked regularly, has always done simply odd jobs, "knocking around from pillar to post." He is lazy, and unemployable. One winter he is said to have torn some of the walls and the ceilings out of the house which had been furnished him to live in, for fire wood, rather than to go out and earn enough money to buy wood. He has been in court a great many times for not supporting his family, but the authorities declare it does no good to bring him into court and they are at a loss to know what to do.

The mother is 54 years old, her parentage is not known, as she was adopted in early infancy. She has always been considered "not bright;" she is very shiftless, careless, untruthful and a poor housekeeper. When money has been given her to purchase food, she never uses judgment and foresight. The family will put every cent given them in a big feast. As a girl there were many complaints of her in the neighborhood because of immorality. Later on she was known as a prostitute of the most common type. When quite young she and her husband were brought into court for indecent exposure.

This couple have had eleven children, all of whom are feeble-minded; seven are wards of the state. R., the oldest child is a man of 34; he works irregularly, is a mental defective. In the past he has been a very heavy drinker.

J., the next child, was both feeble-minded and epileptic. At the age of 12, he was committed to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded at Chippewa Falls.

The third child, A., 31 years of age, is feeble-minded, was committed to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded at Chippewa Falls at the age of 13. It is not considered safe to release her into the community because of her grossly abnormal sex tendencies.

The fourth child, W., is 30 years of age, is feeble-minded but is considered the best one of the lot. He works steadily. He tried to enlist for service in the army, but was refused because of feeble-mindedness. He has been in court for

drunkenness, and was a heavy drinker before prohibition went into effect.

The fifth child, C., is 27 years old and is feeble-minded. He was committed to the State Institution for Feeble-minded 15 years ago. He is of very low type.

The sixth child, B., is a feeble-minded girl; was also committed to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded in 1906.

The seventh child, G., 23 years old, is a feeble-minded boy, and has been cared for by the state at Chippewa Falls for 15 years.

The eighth child, G., is 20 years old, a very attractive, good looking high grade mentally defective girl. She is very lazy and will not work. Is sexually very delinquent. Is well known to the police in her own city, and is said to carry on her trade in a neighboring city, to which she goes every night, and hangs around the hotel picking up traveling men. When seen by the investigator, she had just returned from a month's trip through the West with a traveling man. The danger this girl presents from the standpoint of having defective children and spreading broadcast venereal disease, is tremendous and cannot be over-estimated.

The ninth child died at the age of 17 years of meningitis. She had been regarded as a mental defective, and was sexually immoral. Before her death she had been taken out of her parents' home and placed in a very good home by the juvenile court.

The tenth child, T., is 14 years old. He was committed to The Home for Dependent Children at Sparta in February 1917. At the age of 14 he has the mental age of a 10-year old child.

The eleventh child, F., is a girl 11 years of age. She was committed with her brother to the State Home for Dependent Children at Sparta. She has now been placed out in a foster home, is considered very dull and backward. Previous to being committed to Sparta, she had been placed in a home by the court, but was returned because the family regarded it as impossible to do anything with her.

Case 2: Another feeble-minded woman 66 year old, with the mental age of seven years, was admitted to——county home thirty years ago with her husband, who is now dead. Their two children, and one other born before the woman's marriage, were admitted with them,

and afterwards sent to the State Home for Dependent Children at Sparta. The couple were given a room together at the county home, and four more children were born to them while they were living there, all of whom were sent to Sparta. This woman has a sister who is defective, and is being cared for in a certain Church Home.

Case 3: In———county home there are a brother and sister, both are feeble-minded. The sister was admitted 32 years ago, following the trial and sentence of her father to the State Prison for incest. Soon after the expiration of his term he was admitted to the same county home, where he remained until he died. The two children above referred to are his children by his eldest daughter, by whom he had eight children: five of these have been cared for in the county home. One of the daughters was committed to

an insane hospital, another brother was an idiot. Of the two children that are now at the———county home, the boy was transferred there when he was 14 years old from the Home for Dependent Children at Sparta. He has been here twenty-seven years.

The bearing of these facts and the illustrative cases upon the problem of crime and prisons, is clear, and an enlightened public opinion must demand that we stop "saving at the spigot and wasting at the bung-hole." Even wealthy Wisconsin cannot stand very much further increase in the burden which these incompetents place upon us. If we could reduce them by even one-half, which I think is not a wild dream, how much more could we do in a constructive way for education and health, than is possible at the present time.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN OHIO—1923

HOWARD R. KNIGHT

THE 1923 SESSION of the Ohio legislature passed only a few pieces of constructive social legislation. The reasons for such lack of action are found in the scarcity of able party leadership, a republican legislature and a democratic governor, and a general desire to make the session a short one. Some progress was made however in a few directions.

Mental Hygiene: A bill permitting the establishment of industrial and agricultural colonies of the feeble-minded was passed. This bill opens the way, at the discretion of the superintendent of Ohio's one institution for the feeble-minded to relieve the present congestion of population in the institution.

An appropriation for a new institution for feeble-minded in the northeastern part of the state was passed by the legislature but vetoed by the governor on the grounds of economy.

The appropriation bill that was finally signed by the governor included an item of \$548,000 for much needed improvements at the Cleveland State Hospital for the Insane and the beginning of construction at the new hospital at Grafton.

Ohio's feeble-minded problem is thus left about where it was except for the possibility of developing colonies. Present facilities for custodial care are only about half (when present construction is completed) the needed amount.

Criminal Identification: A new State Bureau of Criminal Identification was established and placed under the Department of Public Welfare. It has been located at the State Penitentiary at Columbus and has begun operations.

Board of Clemency: After two years experience with a Pardon Board of three members, the legislature again changed the form of organization to a bi-partisan Board of Clemency of two members, devoting their entire time to the work. The new board began operations July 1, 1923. An advisory committee of two women, serving without salary, will sit with the Board of Clemency when it is considering parole cases at the Women's Reformatory.

Care of Illegitimate Children: A change in the law affecting illegitimate children was made this year after a long campaign by social workers and others. As finally passed the bill provides

that a father is responsible for the support of an illegitimate child until 16 years of age regardless of any settlement that may be made with the mother, such settlement being regarded solely as damages to her. The bill also gives the Juvenile Court concurrent power with the Court of Common Pleas in such cases and provides that a probation officer or agent of the State Department of Public Welfare may file complaint against the father in case of the death or disability of the mother. In short no longer can the father of an illegitimate child escape responsibility for its support by giving the mother a few hundred dollars at the time of the child's birth.

Another bill passed with the one above prohibits the placing of children for adoption except by agencies licensed by the State Department of Public Welfare to carry on this important work. It prohibits the separation of a child under 2 years of age from its mother for placement in a foster home or institution except by commitment of the Juvenile Court or the written consent of the Division of Charities of the State Department of Public Welfare. In other words a stop has been put to the indiscriminate placing of babies by irresponsible individuals and organizations.

School Attendance and Child Labor: Two years ago a school attendance law was passed in Ohio which placed the state among the leaders in such legislation. At the last session this law was bitterly attacked by the commercial onion growers of one county. The law by requiring school attendance until 16 and working certificates had cut off part of their cheap labor supply. The social forces of the state were marshalled for the hearings before the committees of both house and senate. Despite the opposition of social workers, teachers, manufacturers and others, a bill lowering the school age limit and permitting children of twelve to work in agricultural occupations was passed but vetoed by the governor. The law therefore remains as it was. A bill perfecting and simplifying the operation of the present laws was lost in the excitement of saving the present high standards.

Miscellaneous: Mention should also be made of the passage of the Taft Bill which increased the amount of mill tax which can be levied for

local governmental expenses. This will relieve temporarily a number of cities whose available income was seriously restricted by the former limitations. This act, however, is purely palliative and does not fundamentally change Ohio's present taxation system. It will enable some cities to continue public welfare functions which might otherwise have been discontinued for lack of funds. Approximately \$2,400,000.00 was appropriated by the legislature to the State Department of Education for the "State Aid to Weak School Districts Fund" for the biennium ending June 30, 1925.

GEORGIA LEGISLATION

BURR BLACKBURN writes: While the list of bills passed by the legislature, which affect the social welfare of the state, is meager, there are several distinct forward steps, and when it is considered that most of the session was taken up in an effort to solve the tax problem together with numerous sensational department investigations, the social workers of the state should certainly not lose patience, but should approach the session next year with courage and hopefulness.

The Georgia legislature technically has not adjourned, but is in recess and will hold the second half of its 100 day legislative session next summer. The legislators are elected for two years and bills introduced the first summer hold their places in committee and on the calendar during the second summer. It will be time enough to consider whether or not the legislature of 1923-24 has failed when it has adjourned next summer. There are bills already introduced, affecting practically every social problem that can be thought of, which did not get consideration this year, and many of them, would, if carefully considered and amended in committee, be of great benefit to the state.

The outstanding measures passed by the Georgia legislature this year were those raising funds for a \$500,000 tuberculosis hospital; a permissive playground and recreation act; the law permitting counties and municipalities to cooperate in high school consolidation; the law providing against fire hazards in public schools; the establishment of an ex-service men's bureau, and the increase in the welfare department's appropriation.

MATERNITY AND CHILD HYGIENE CLINIC

Agencies in the state council are more than delighted at the success of their efforts in competing for the Child Health Demonstration of the Commonwealth Fund of New York. In competition with nine other southern states, Georgia was successful, due largely to the coöperative efforts of the agencies in the health section of the state council. Approximately \$200,000 will be expended in conducting this demonstration clinic at Athens. The purpose of the clinic is to reduce the infant and maternity death rate and to illustrate to other Georgia and southern communities what can be done by paying the proper attention to this rate. The American infant death rate is now lower than it has ever been, but many countries like Sweden, Norway and New Zealand have reduced it to half the American rate. The clinic in Athens will be under the direction of the local county health officer, Dr. Applewhite, but he will have the assistance of experts in physical education, children's diseases and every known phase of activity relating to the pre-birth stage and pre-school period of the child's life.

A FORWARD STEP IN CHILD CARE

With the acquisition of a new supervisor of field work, the Georgia Children's Home Society began in September a new era in its program for dependent children and Georgia secured a competent, trained leader in social work. Miss Alice Reynolds McMaster, former member of the faculty of Tulane University, a graduate of the New York School of Social Work, with many years' experience in child care, will direct the work of the Georgia Children's Home Society in its new plans for keeping destitute children with their parents and for finding good boarding homes in which children may be cared for temporarily while their family conditions are being straightened out. This constructive program will be in addition to the finding of foster homes for homeless children.

The constructive work of the State Library Commission, which is becoming recognized in Georgia, is now being conducted by Miss Beverly Wheatcroft, formerly Kentucky State Library Commissioner, who succeeded Miss Charlotte Templeton during the summer and is going ahead with Miss Templeton's fine program for estab-

lishment of county, municipal and high school libraries and the distribution of books from the office of the capitol to three-fourths of Georgia's population which do not have access to any library. Miss Wheatcroft knows Georgia conditions and is applying herself to the task with unusual enthusiasm.

MACON MENTAL CLINIC

A clinic for juvenile delinquency is to be opened at Macon by the state sanitarium coöperating with local physicians and child welfare agencies to be backed up by the Rotary Club.

The clinic is to deal with delinquents who come before the Juvenile Court or whose parents apply to the Juvenile Court for aid, as well as misfits in school and elsewhere.

Assisting in the clinic with the Milledgeville mental hygienists will be Dr. Peyton Jacobs, Prof. of Education at Mercer; Prof. Bassett and Miss Lois Rogers, psychologists at Wesleyan, and the doctors in the Rotary Club. It is announced that the clinic will employ a psychiatric social worker.

Problem children in other South Georgia communities should be taken to this clinic at Macon whenever possible.

At the request of the Committee on Criminal Statistics, which is a subcommittee of the State Commission on Criminology, of which Mr. Marvin Underwood is chairman, the Georgia State Welfare Department is making a careful statistical study of the criminal courts in five or six typical Georgia counties. This study is made possible by funds secured from the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, and is being done by Mr. Hugh Fuller, an Atlanta attorney. The study will be invaluable, not only indicating needed changes in methods of record-keeping and statistic-gathering in Georgia, but will probably develop interesting facts about the cases which are grinding through our criminal courts.

Atlanta is joining the 187 other large American cities in establishing a full fledged community chest for the practical and effective financing of all its social service activities. Twenty-five local agencies have joined the chest organization and teams are being prepared under Chairman Eugene Black for a week's intensive financial cam-

paign, beginning November 11th. Atlanta business men are behind the undertaking and little doubt is expressed that the \$600,000 needed for this year's budgets will be raised.

Macon is the only other Georgia city with a financial federation, but the idea is being considered in several other communities. The State Council office is in a position to coöperate with other communities in the establishment of their community chests and in bringing to them the latest information on methods adopted elsewhere.

MINNEAPOLIS JUVENILE COURT

AT THE LAST SESSION of the Minnesota legislature a law was passed authorizing the creation

of a Juvenile Court judgeship in Hennepin county (in which Minneapolis is situated) and the governor was instructed to make an appointment to that judgeship. Within the last two weeks the governor has appointed Mr. Paul Guilford. Mr. Guilford was a senator in the state legislature which passed the child welfare legislation six years ago and was one of their most active promoters in the senate at that time. His appointment is a distinct triumph for the social work group as there was heavy pressure upon the governor to make a political appointment. In fact, the appointment of Judge Guilford is the first one the governor has made in response to the request of those interested in social work.

STATE CONFERENCES

October and November are golden months, not only in the great out-of-doors, but with meetings and conferences. No less than a dozen State Conferences have been or are in process of meeting. Readers of The JOURNAL may look forward with pleasure to reports from many of these conferences.

The Church and Social Service

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE RURAL CHURCH AT ITS BEST

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

THE CHURCH is the most sensitive of social institutions. It reflects either by its decay or by its successful adaptation to a shifting environment the changes that take place around it. Recent criticism would lead to the inference that the church is losing its power of adjustment. This inference must be drawn in the face of unprecedented activity on the part of all the major denominations in money raising and in the advocacy of a program for the local church looking toward increased organization efficiency and community service.

During the last year the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys sought, on the basis of each denomination's own definition of success, to measure the strength and evaluate the programs of successful rural churches. To this end, out of almost 300 churches which were nominated and which answered a preliminary questionnaire, it subjected forty to investigation by competent field workers. These forty¹ were so chosen as to be representative of all parts of the country as well as of the major types of religious practice such as liturgical, immersionist, etc.

There was nothing exceptional about the communities in which these churches were situated. Most of them have been definitely and measurably improved by the activity of the churches. In view of the tendency to believe that the church at the center is superceding that in the open country it is interesting to note that twelve of the forty churches are located in the country. Twenty-two are in villages of under 2,500 population and six in towns of from 2,500 to 4,000 population. Of the villages, seven had less than five hundred inhabitants each.

Ten of these churches were the only ones in their communities and two more shared their fields only with small churches of the eccentric type. It is interesting that the denominations which spend the major portion of their home mission funds in sustaining competitive churches should, when naming their most successful congregations select nearly one-third of the number from one-church fields. These churches with sole responsibility for their communities are Catholic in the best sense of the term. It was the usual thing to find members of from nine to sixteen different denominations united in one of these denominational but community churches. Here is one element in the successful adaptation of these churches to their surroundings and to the thought of the present day.

The wide appeal of these churches was shown also in the large number of country members belonging to the churches in village and town. In one quarter of the instances this rural membership actually exceeded the membership drawn from the village. In another third the proportion ranged from over thirty-three to ninety per cent. In seven cases out of ten the parishes of the churches were coterminous with the boundaries of the socio-economic community. Apparently this long range influence is not accidental. It is not usually found but these churches systematically attempt to serve the maximum area possible.

Success is not determined by mere size. Nine of these churches had, at the time of the investigation, less than one hundred members each. Nearly half had between one hundred and two hundred. Six more fell within the next hundred; and the final six ranged from 349 to nearly 1,100. Three of the last named were in county seat towns but the others were all in centers of quite

¹ Described in "Churches of Distinction" in Town and Country, and "Tested Methods in Town and Country Churches"—Doran, N. Y., 1923.

the average size. It is in the attendance that the strength of the ties with which members were held was shown. Seventy per cent of the resident membership attends morning services and 52 per cent are present at evening meetings. At least one representative of over three-quarters of the families on the rolls is present at at least one service every Sunday of the year. Six of the churches at either one or both services have attendances which exceed their memberships. The audiences are well distributed between the age and sex groups. At morning services 39 per cent are women, 31 per cent men, 23 per cent young people and the rest children. In the evening men and women in equal proportion make up three-fifths of the audience and the rest are young people. In the whole list of forty there was but one "woman's church." Two-thirds of the members are under forty-five years of age and one-quarter are under twenty-one. Sixty per cent of this membership is enrolled in one or more of the churches' subsidiary organizations and, curiously enough, 20 per cent more men than women were found to belong to the Sunday School.

As to age two types of churches are represented in the list of forty. Eighteen have behind them a decade or more of successful appeal to their communities. In some of these cases excellent records are measured in terms of half centuries. The other twenty-two churches are manned by progressive ministers who often in summer schools, have caught the vision of the country church at its best and who have gone out and revitalized their own charges. For these the average period required to achieve success has been less than four years.

How have these results been attained? In the first place the ministers are well trained. All but three are either college or college and seminary men. In the next place the maximum use has been made of what equipment the church has had. Four-fifths of the churches have curtained spaces or class rooms for the Sunday school. All but five have space for social and recreational purposes fitted with moveable chairs and a platform. All but six have good kitchens. Two-thirds have stereopticons or motion picture machines and recreational equipment for indoor and

outdoor games. A dozen include a playground in such equipment.

Religious education is emphasized. All Sunday schools are open throughout the year. All make definite and regular attempts to bring pupils into church membership and all give them specific instruction in preparation therefor. Only one church in five, on the average, accomplished this last thing. Half of them train their teachers and two-thirds train their members for leadership in the various activities of the church. One-quarter provide week-day religious instruction and another quarter have a Daily Vacation Bible School. Half of them have sent at least one representative into professional Christian service in the last decade. Financial systems of all but four are 100 per cent efficient and the per capita contributions of resident members equals nearly \$20.00 a year. All of these churches have resident pastors and all but six pay the pastor \$1500 a year or more and give him the free use of a manse.

As to program, every church has at least one service every Sunday. One half set before their people each year a definite program of objectives to be reached. All of them have at least one-fourth of their members giving time regularly to the attaining of these objectives and to carrying on the work of the congregation. Half of them make an average net gain of over ten per cent a year and all have systematic evangelistic programs aimed to reach the entire community and every group within it. Community service is a definite part of the program of every one of these churches and all but two coöperate with local, county and state welfare and religious agencies such as the Farm Bureau, the County Y. M. C. A. and the State Sunday School Association.

These churches prove that evangelistic zeal and community service go hand in hand, under adequate leadership and that whether among negroes, Indians or whites, in town or country, among the cotton fields of the South, the orange groves of the far west, the expanses of the corn and wheat belts, the rocky fastnesses of the mountains or on the barren soil of New England, country people will support the church that adapts itself to its surroundings and combines spiritual leadership with community usefulness.

THE RURAL CHURCH AS A SOCIAL UNIT

THOMAS D. ELIOT

IN RENAN'S "Vie de Jesus" is a very pretty picture of the rural church of Gallilee in the time of Jesus: "The people of this lovely and fertile country were seldom together except on the Sabbath. This was the day chosen for instruction. Every town had then its synagogue or place of meeting. . . Inside, there were benches, a seat for the reading of the Scriptures, a strong-box for keeping the sacred scrolls. These buildings, which in no way suggest a temple, were the center of all the Jewish life. They gathered on the day of the Sabbath for prayer and for the reading of the Law and the Prophets. As Judaism, outside Jerusalem, had no clergy properly so-called, the first-comer used to rise and take the reading for the day, adding comments quite after his own fashion, in which he expounded his own ideas. This was the origin of the sermon. . . One had the right to make objections and to ask questions; as a result the gathering quickly became a kind of free assembly . . . The synagogues were thus true little independent republics; they had a wide jurisdiction—guaranteed the franchise and exercised a surveillance over the voters. Like all the town governments until an advanced period in the Roman Empire, they made honorary decrees, voted resolutions having the force of law for the community, and imposed corporal punishments, of which the "hazzan," or teacher, was the usual executioner.

"With the extreme intellectual activity which has always characterized the Jews, such an institution . . . could not but give rise to very lively discussions. Thanks to the synagogue, Judaism has been able to come intact through eighteen centuries of persecution . . . Quarrels of precedence were lively; to have a seat of honor in the first row was the reward of great piety or the privilege of wealth (sic!) which was much envied. On the other hand the liberty, left to whomever wished it, of making himself the reader and commentator of the sacred text, gave wonderful opportunity for the introduction and spread of new ideas. Here we have one of Jesus' great instruments, the means which he

usually employed to establish his doctrinal teachings. He entered the synagogue and rose to read: the "hazzan" reached him the book, he unrolled it, and reading the selection for the day, he drew from it some interpretation in conformity with his ideas. (cf. Luke, IV, 16-ff.) . . . The good Gallileans had never heard a gospel so akin to their cheerful temperament."

My translation is crude; so, perchance, may be the author's scholarship; yet to me the passage is suggestive of many things for our own country churches.

Socially, all rural communities are still largely undifferentiated groups, if we contrast with them the highly complex life and sharply cleft and subdivided institutions of the city. We have in the primitive synagogue a social unit suggesting at once the Friends' meeting, the New England town-meeting, the school, the chautauqua, and the modern democratic social center. Has not the failure of our rural church been chiefly due to a mistaken attempt on the part of city bred missionaries to impose upon the country town or village the manifold distinctions and standards of complexity characteristic of urban life? Every mushroom hamlet thinks it must have, now or as soon as possible, one church of each sect, not to mention separate buildings and organizations for school, lodge, theatre, and city-hall. Friction, friction, friction. Jealousy, bankruptcy, undemocracy.

The thing has doubtless gone beyond rescue in many a village, but in many another there is still opportunity, especially for residents on the ground, of putting under way the Rural Social Center—a building within the means of the community to be used as common meeting place for prayer, politics, reading, dancing, teaching, governing and enjoying life; by the law-abiding of the community as a whole, or by smaller groups for which smaller rooms might be arranged. Such a group needs no minister at starvation wages. The natural leaders of the other activities of the same group, or the secular officials, like the "hazzan" of old, could by common consent arrange for the weekly reading of fine reli-

gious or ethical literature of non-sectarian character, when special speakers were unavailable. Is not this good democracy and practicable?

THE METHODIST "FOURTEEN POINTS"

THERE WILL be found a liberal analysis of the whole problem of country life in relation to the church in the "fourteen points" recently adopted by the Methodist church.

1. That the church should coöperate with other agencies in developing economic welfare of the farmer.

2. That the Federal Council of Churches should organize a committee to coöperate with other agencies in the solution of national problems affecting rural life generally, such as the tenancy problem and the transient labor situation.

3. That the church should encourage the co-operative movement among farmers as in harmony with the highest ideals of Christian brotherhood.

4. That the health program of the church should be expanded to include public health nursing service for rural people.

5. That the natural resources of the soil should be conserved as a racial patrimony.

6. That the church should provide building and equipment for the social and recreational welfare of our young people, and should carry on a program designed to Christianize all of life.

7. That local churches rendering community service should have larger denominational affiliations. The independent community church has not been justified by experience.

8. The renewal of religious worship in the house is urged as fundamental in a Christian civilization.

9. That interdenominational adjustments be made to eliminate duplications of religious effort and to assure to every rural family definite pastoral care.

10. Shift of leading rural pastors to urban centers is deplored. As a remedy for the discrepancy between urban and rural pastorates the church should (a) assist in increasing the economic resources of the parish; (b) enlarge the geographical area of the parish, and provide transportation maintenance; (c) increase the scope of pastoral service.

11. The policy of establishing directorships of rural extension service in connection with Methodist educational institutions is approved and it is recommended that special courses on rural church and community life be established in connection with Wesley foundations at agricultural colleges.

12. That the program of religious education, including Sunday schools, vacation Bible schools and week-day religious instruction under trained leadership be extended to include the weakest, most distant country church.

13. That the "enlarged parish plan," which includes the joining of several small churches geographically related with some larger central church and the carrying on of a unified program with adequate assistance be considered a solution to the rural church problems in many communities.

14. The county plan of organization of all religious forces is recommended. A central county council of religion supported from the budgets of coöperating churches is recommended as more efficient than several independent specialized religious agencies privately supported.

A COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH SCHOOLS OF THE SOUTH

AT THE conclusion of the last annual meetings of the Southern Baptist Education Association and the Southern Methodist Education Association a joint session was held in which was organized a Council of the Church Schools of the South. Only the two denominations mentioned participated in that organization, but notice has already been received of the purpose of the Presbyterians of this region to participate. It is probable that most of the denominations of the section will unite in this movement committed to the fostering of the secondary schools and colleges under denominational control. The Council will hold an annual meeting for one full day during the sessions of the denominational associations participating.

President, Wm. Louis Poteat, Wake Forest, N. C.; Vice President, D. R. Anderson, Lynchburg, Virginia; Secretary and Treasurer, Albert R. Bond, Birmingham, Alabama; Executive Committee, the officers together with Stonewall Anderson, Nashville, Tennessee, and S. P. Brooks, Waco, Texas.

Inter-Racial Coöperation

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE NEGRO ON A STRIKE

T. J. WOOFER, JR.

THE MOVEMENT of negroes from some parts of the Southern Black-belt practically amounts to a strike against the plantation régime in these sections. This movement has been under way for some fifty years, but during the war it increased rapidly, and with the return of prosperity in industry the exodus again assumes large proportions.

When immigration was cut off the Southern planter was in possession of the largest supply of unskilled labor in America. Since then this labor has been slipping through his fingers, largely because of his inability to compete with the manufacturer either in wages paid or in living conditions furnished. Each year, after the crops are gathered large numbers of laborers and tenants put their simple farm life, all they have ever known, behind them to seek the Eldorado of industry.

The city and the wages paid dazzle them, and their letters to the folks back home are superlative. These letters draw many others. At this stage the movement becomes an epidemic, a fad, and much of it is unwise. A story goes the rounds of a Southern town that an old negro drove up to the station in an ox-cart with \$37.00 in cash. He had lived a generous number of years on the farm but said he had decided to go to Philadelphia and had brought along his "steer buggy" so he could ride when he arrived.

The Georgia State College of Agriculture estimates that about 100,000 left Georgia farms from January 1st to May 1st 1923, and the Georgia Bankers' Association confirms this figure and adds that the total for the past three years has been nearly a quarter of a million and that the movement continues. The "Jim Crow" cars of the northbound trains are packed to suffocation

and the railway stations at Atlanta, Memphis, Chattanooga, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Philadelphia and other distributing centers present strange sights, swarming with black immigrants, many of them clothed almost as they left the cotton field with all their earthly possessions in one bundle.

A picture of the plantation system will help to understand the inability of Southern farmers to compete with industries for labor. The one-crop cotton system has always required a surplus of labor. From twenty-five to thirty acres in cotton and corn are usually cultivated by one man with a team. Although this man does not average over four months in the year at work, still, when cotton is thinned in the spring and picked in the fall a surplus of labor is required. This wasteful procedure has kept the level of wages low, even in normal times. But the past three or four years have been anything but normal in Southern agriculture. The farmer has bumped the ceiling of high prices and bumped the floor of depression. Post-war liquidation, coupled with the ravages of the Mexican boll-weevil, which now infests the whole cotton belt, have wrecked the credit machinery for three successive years in some sections. The morale of the planter is such that the mere mention of improvements demanding financial outlay sets him wild. He is in no position to hold his labor.

Large scale production of cotton is carried on almost exclusively with laborers or with share tenants who are little more than laborers. These men are low in the industrial scale and poorly paid. Many are improvident and constantly in debt. They are therefore dissatisfied with their method of livelihood.

Their institutions are poor, and rendered poorer because of their shifting constituency.

The church, the school, and the lodge are the only plantation institutions. These fluctuate rapidly in attendance and support. There is little opportunity for developing any intelligent local leadership. One needs only to drive through such a section to note its drawbacks. For miles and miles the road stretches through plantations without a church or school. Then at some cross-road point a miniature steeple upon a building little larger than a cabin proclaims it a church. Sometimes a small school and lodge hall stand near by. As often as not church, school, and lodge use the same building. It serves for education during week days, recreation a few nights in the month, and worship at irregular intervals when the itinerant preacher gets around.

With the prevailing unsettled population conditions, plantation houses are not homes, they are little more than temporary shelters where the laborer remains until the crop is made, and then moves on. The traveller in the black belt is depressed with the desolateness of these isolated one and two-room cabins which stand in the cotton fields without attempt at decoration, garden, or even any of the simple comforts of primitive country homes. They are often occupied by families of eight or ten people and four or five hounds.

To make matters worse, some planters persistently exploit their labor. Under the share cropping system the temptation to do this is especially strong. The share tenant comes to the landlord with nothing but the clothes on his back and a few pieces of household furniture. For a period of eight or nine months until the crop is made, he must be fed, clothed, housed, furnished with fertilizer, seeds, animals, implements and stock feed. At the end of the year the crop is divided half and half after the tenant's expenses have been deducted.

There are persistent complaints among the negroes of unfairness in settlement at the end of the year. Part of this complaint is justified and part of it arises from the fact that the tenants are illiterate and keep no accurate account and hence are uninformed as to their true financial status at the end of the crop year.

Much of the movement arises from the dissatisfaction with crop settlements. On the other hand, where a tenant or laborer moves in the mid-

dle of a crop year it works a great hardship on the landlord because he has fed and maintained his tenant by advances made upon the sole security of a growing crop which is dead loss if the tenant moves off in the middle of the season. Many landlords have been almost ruined in this way. The tempers of many housewives have been sorely strained when cooks pursued the same tactics.

It is this situation which has given rise to the repressive laws of some states aimed at the discouragement of migration. Among these laws are statutes making it a crime to quit a contract while in debt. It is from the abuse of this law that peonage complaints arise. Another almost universal statute in the South is that aimed at labor agents. It requires the payment of from \$500 to \$1000 license fee to each county in which labor is recruited and makes it a crime to recruit labor without the payment of this fee.

As against these efforts to hold negro laborers there have been efforts to drive them out. These do not come from the employer class but from irresponsible members of the white tenant and small farmer group who are more or less in competition with negro tenants. In several Southern counties during the past winter negroes have gone to worship on Sunday to find every church door placarded with the warning to all of them to be out of the county by a certain date. These have often been practical jokes but they have caused an abiding fear in the negro who lives in isolated rural sections, especially when signed with the cabalistic initials K. K. K. In other cases, law abiding negro citizens were whipped or otherwise terrorized by night riders and driven from home. These cases have not been common occurrences but have been widely discussed among the negroes and have been a big factor in their unrest. As one Georgia farmer expresses it: The movement is due as much to the "shoving of the South" as to the "pulling of the North."

The result of all this economic depression and exploitation and violence has been that the natural city-ward movement was greatly accelerated. The 1920 census showed 3,000,000 negro city dwellers, 1,750,000 of whom were in the north and west. There are now probably more than 3,500,000, or over a third of the negro population. It is estimated that over eleven thousand

farms of some quarter of a million acres have been deserted in Georgia between January and May 1923, and the conditions are about the same in Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama. This means losses of millions of dollars in Southern agriculture and a grave condition for the productivity of the country as a whole.

In other words the country negroes are *striking* and their demands include not only a system which will pay them better wages but also better living conditions especially in housing, protection from violence, and schools. Despite their handicaps, however, southern communities are making some progress in bettering conditions. They are taking steps which can be made more rapidly when prosperity returns to the farm.

The most fundamental improvement is in the farming system. The boll weevil and the labor shortage combine to make the planter discard the yoke of slavery to cotton. By cutting down the cotton acreage and increasing the amount of winter grain, corn, velvet beans, peanuts, potatoes, cane and peas, he can cultivate more land per hand. Under this system more machinery is also used.

On the whole, therefore, when the temporary ill effects of the suddenness of negro movement have passed the effect on southern agriculture will probably be beneficial. The farmer will learn to be more economical with his land and labor, and will improve living conditions for negroes. This is one of the big items in the mind of negro leaders. From their observance of the benefits of the white man's learning and as a reaction from the sting of the former assertions that a negro is incapable of learning there has grown a passion for schooling even among the masses of negroes.

Recognizing this, numbers of southern communities are building schools as fast as their means will allow. The Rosenwald Foundation for aiding negro rural school building reports that within the past few years, 1,700 rural schools have been built at a total cost of \$6,257,000 of which \$3,000,000 was supplied from public taxes. In addition many schools have been built without the aid of this fund.

As the realization grows that violence and especially lynching causes great unrest among the colored people there is a marked increase in the

determination of the thinking members of the community to bring the perpetrators of violence to the bar of justice and cure them of their practices. Only 11 lynchings occurred in the first six months of 1923 as against 30 in the same months of 1922 and many more in previous years.

Thus the movement of negroes tends in the long run to better not only the economic but also the social conditions in the South. As the negro moves his grievances are acutely realized and an effort made to eliminate them.

The effects of this movement on industry are more or less obvious. On the eve of a wave of prosperity, when labor is needed for expansion, a source of cheap labor is opened up. Much of this labor comes right to the doors of the factory without recruiting.

There can be no doubt that, compared with the non-English speaking foreigners of former days, he is a good industrial laborer. Negroes rise as high as moulders and occasionally ruffers and rollers in steel plants. The whole heat finishing department of a large automobile plant is solidly negro, and employers are constantly finding new uses to which the labor is adapted above the scale of unskilled operations.

Another feature which appeals to many employers is that by and large the negro is non-union labor. This is not his fault as he usually joins the union when he can. Union labor, however, naturally looks askance on this influx of cheap, unorganized black men and in many instances excludes them from their organization. The American Federation of Labor announces a policy of non-discrimination but the matter of admission of members is entirely within the jurisdiction of the local union and in the majority of instances these unions exclude negroes.

As to the negro himself the effects of this competition for his services are diverse. By moving North he obtains better wages but these are almost balanced by immensely increased living costs. Probably his greatest advantage is in the superior living condition of the city, the better schools, churches, and recreation facilities and the superior housing and police protection furnished by the city.

If the effects on the race as a whole rather than merely individual effects are considered the picture is more confused. Of course the indi-

vidual moving looks to his immediate advantage but when the long time influence on family and group life are considered immediate advantage is often outweighed by ultimate drawbacks.

Some of the straws which show which way the wind of ultimate advantage blows are:

From a home loving staying race the negro has become the greatest wanderer among the restless groups of the United States. More than half of the share tenants and laborers live on a place for one year only and then move. The 1920 census showed more than a fifth of the colored population living outside its state of birth. The enumeration showed 266,000 Virginia born negroes living in other states. Next in rank came Mississippi with 210,000, Georgia with 202,000, Alabama with 190,000, South Carolina with 169,000, North Carolina with 162,000, Tennessee with 147,000 and Louisiana with 115,000.

The crowding in cities has been one of the great causes of decreasing the negro birth rate. Men and women are not equally attracted to the same places. Male agricultural laborers move to industrial cities. Women are attracted to other cities by domestic service opportunities. In all of the southern cities and some of the eastern cities the ratio of females to males is about 100 to 90, and in some cases as high as 100 to 80. In the industrial cities this is reversed. In Detroit the ratio is 140 men to 100 women and in some small industrial towns it is almost 2 to 1. Thus by the arithmetic of population hundreds of colored men and women are predestined to remain unmarried. This is a fruitful source of immorality and crime as well as of reduction in the birth rate. The health conditions in cities are also unfavorable to negroes. Tuberculosis and pneumonia and infant diseases take a dreadful toll.

As soon as negroes began to move to cities their rate of increase began to slacken. From 1870 to 1880 they increased 22 per cent, from 1880-1890, 17 per cent, from 1890 to 1900, 14 per cent, from 1900 to 1910, 11 per cent, and from 1910 to 1920, 6 per cent. Thus, by contact with American city conditions, a people which originally had all the prodigal fecundity of a tropical race has been reduced almost to the sluggish increase of the French, whose births barely balance their deaths. In fact in some Northern cities the colored birth rate is less than the death rate. In

New York City the deaths amount annually to about 400 more than the births. In the absence of immigration these places would show a shrinkage of negro population.

Other adverse results of the cityward trend are seen in the increased crime and insanity rates of urban populations. Because the migrants plunge from the simple, strictly ordered life of the plantation into the complex stresses and strains of the city, it is to be expected that crime and insanity would increase. This has been the case. When, however, it is considered that a large proportion of the migrants are young and single, the increase in crime and insanity rates has not been very alarming. A closer examination of colored crime rates indicates that many arrests are for minor infractions of city ordinances.

As the migration settles down to a more normal and steady stream, or as the industrial labor market becomes saturated these adverse effects of the stresses and strains of city life will doubtless be lessened. The ratio between the sexes will be balanced and the negro will become more accustomed to city life.

The real remaining test of whether the effect on the negro has been for better or worse will rest on his ability to rise from the ranks of unskilled laborer into the semi-skilled and skilled ranks. If he is destined to remain a member of a group of cheap, easily exploited laborers then it would be far better for him to remain in his present recognized status in southern agriculture and battle against its adversities for a more or less independent place as owner and renter of the soil. If there is room for a sufficient number to rise then there is an undoubted benefit to the race in the opening of this avenue. At any rate the majority of negroes will probably always remain in the South and the majority of these on the farm.

While this influx of rural negroes strains race relations in industrial centers, especially during seasons of unemployment, the dispersion of negroes is undoubtedly a blessing for the social situation in the black belt. In fact, the black belt proper, the area where negroes are in the majority is breaking down. Between 1910 and 1920 there was hardly a county in the South where the proportion of white people was not on the increase. In 1880 there were 300 counties with a negro

majority. In 1910 this 300 had shrunk to 264 and in 1920 only 216 of these remained. In 1910 there were 54 counties where the proportion of colored to white was more than three to one, but in 1920 only 32 showed such a high proportion.

This scattering of negroes from the predominantly colored neighborhoods lessens the demagogic talk of "negro domination." At the same time it gives the negro more opportunity to learn from his white neighbors by observation than is

possible when negroes live to themselves in masses.

In the long run therefore, there is no cause for pessimism regarding the movement. The temporary ill effects on the southern landlord and on the city dwelling negro show signs of adjustment and as far as the negro problems in general are concerned it is a great advantage that they are spread and made nation-wide rather than remaining intensified in the South.

MONEY AN INDISPUTABLE ARGUMENT

N. C. NEWBOLD

SOME ONE HAS said "money talks." It may not always "speak" the truth, especially when used by individuals. For the rich hypocrite may cast large sums into the treasury of the Lord "to be seen of men" while his soul is but a "whited sepulchre;" and the poor fool may make large pledges which he knows he cannot redeem—for the same purpose—to gain the approval of men. But when a whole state embarks upon a program or an enterprise which involves the expenditure of large sums of money it will probably be admitted that the end sought is more than mere applause of its neighbors.

Some one may ask, Why has North Carolina made such large increases in the last three years in the expenditure of public funds for the education of its negro people? The question is well worth consideration from many angles. Has the state suddenly realized how remiss and negligent it has been in this matter? Has it become convinced all at once that the negro people within its borders are valuable assets if properly educated and trained? Has the state become rich over night, so rich that it is glad of any opportunity or excuse to spend? Has the standard of Christian citizenship—white Christian citizenship—been so raised among us that we unitedly demand a square deal, an educational and an economic square deal, for our negro people?

The limits set for this paper will not permit an attempt here to answer these questions. Perhaps the reader, as he glances over this page, may in his own soul find the answer,—what it is in the

heart of our commonwealth which impels it to such action.

Having raised these questions by way of introduction it will now be in order to let *money* "speak" for itself:

The General Assembly of 1921 with the hearty coöperation and approval of the governor voted the following sums for negro education:

Building and equipment, three State Normal Schools	\$ 500,000.00
Maintenance, three State Normal Schools (annual)	75,000.00
Division of negro education (annual)	15,000.00
Teacher-training in private schools (annual)	15,000.00
Teacher-training in summer schools (estimated annual)	20,000.00
High school and vocational education (estimated annual)	30,000.00
Building and improvement, A. & T. College, Greensboro	115,000.00
Maintenance, A. & T. College (annual)	30,000.00
Building reformatory for negro boys	25,000.00
Maintenance of reformatory (annual)	10,000.00
Sanatorium for negro tubercular patients	100,000.00
Total state appropriations	\$ 935,000.00

In recognition of this progressive step and with a desire to help the General Education Board gave \$125,000.00 to equip the new buildings to be constructed at the three negro State Normal Schools by the half million dollars of state funds.

In 1921-1922 the new buildings provided as above were constructed and put into use.

Following its fine beginning in 1921 the General Assembly, again with the governor's hearty sup-

port, in 1923 made appropriations for negro education as follows:

Building and Improvements :(biennial)	
State Normal Schools	\$ 469,000.00
Agricultural & Technical College	455,000.00
Establishment of reformatory for delinquent negro boys	50,000.00
Total	\$ 974,000.00
Maintenance: (annual)	
State Normal Schools	\$ 150,000.00
Agricultural & Technical College	60,000.00
To pay for some indebtedness (A. & T. College)	31,000.00
Negro Reformatory	10,000.00
Other Annual Appropriations:	
Division of negro education	15,000.00
Teacher training in private schools	15,000.00
Teacher training in summer schools (estimated)	15,000.00
High school and vocational education (estimated)	20,000.00
Total annual	\$ 316,000.00
Total biennial	974,000.00
Grand total 1923	\$1,290,000.00

All these are *state* appropriations. What are the smaller political units—the counties, the towns and cities doing for negro education in North Carolina? Careful investigation reveal the following:

1. For new school buildings in towns and cities annually\$1,000,000.00
2. For new school buildings in rural districts mostly Rosenwald schools, annually 500,000.00
3. For negro public school teachers' salaries annually (partly from state funds)1,500,000.00

Summary of expenditures for one year (1923)

1. One-half biennial appropriations for buildings and improvements 487,000.00
2. Annual maintenance—state institutions.... 316,000.00
3. Salaries negro teachers 1,500,000.00
4. New buildings, towns and cities 1,000,000.00
5. New buildings, rural districts 500,000.00

Total (approximately)\$3,803,000.00

The figures given are exact in 1 and 2 above. The total for salaries is based upon figures one year ago. There are now at least three-hundred more negro teachers employed than for that year. The figures under 4 and 5 are based upon careful investigations and are reasonable. In the rural districts \$450,000.00 was spent for Rosenwald schools alone.

These figures are encouraging—particularly so, when we know North Carolina is now able to spend and is spending more money upon its negro schools each year than it spent upon its whole public school system in 1900—twenty-three years ago. And yet, no fully informed, right thinking citizen will claim that the state is doing its full duty in meeting the educational needs of its negro people. It is comforting to believe, however, that as a commonwealth we are headed in the right direction, and traveling at a fairly satisfactory rate of speed.

CO-OPERATION AND THE ROSENWALD RURAL SCHOOLS

STATE	NO. BUILDINGS	TOTAL COST	CONTRIBUTIONS			
	Schools	Bldg. Grounds and Equipment	Negroes	Whites	Public School Authorities	The J. R. Fund
Alabama.....	270	517,568	213,130	25,554	146,884	132,000
Arkansas.....	96	317,291	39,235	13,501	193,517	71,038
Florida.....	9	64,645	6,838	6,885	40,422	10,500
Georgia.....	86	297,004	100,319	14,453	116,282	65,950
Kentucky.....	76	336,534	43,501	6,732	239,208	47,500
Louisiana.....	187	645,330	211,306	22,439	268,285	143,300
Maryland.....	44	253,516	33,312	474	187,930	31,800
Mississippi.....	227	1,031,800	371,098	107,743	343,859	209,100
North Carolina.....	319	1,246,327	272,220	44,786	694,856	234,465
Oklahoma.....	35	210,834	8,462		169,842	32,530
South Carolina.....	126	686,349	160,395	115,674	295,480	114,800
Tennessee.....	159	636,770	148,711	13,752	362,907	111,400
Texas.....	116	368,202	56,900	4,980	215,289	91,033
Virginia.....	158	580,438	158,009	12,458	314,571	95,400
Totals.....	1,908	7,192,608	1,823,436	389,024	3,589,332	1,390,816

County and Country Life Programs

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

A KEY-NOTE TO THE COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

The American Country Life Association, after consultations with many groups of men and women deeply interested in the country home, decided to make the theme of its Sixth Annual Conference, "The Rural Home." The meeting will be held in St. Louis, November 8 to 11. Programs can be obtained from Mr. Henry Israel, Executive Secretary of the Association.

It is believed that this is the first time in the United States, that a national conference devoted entirely to this subject has been attempted. The Country Life Association is receiving the most cordial coöperation from the Home Demonstration Agents, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and other similar groups. The program is designed to bring before the public the significance of the problems of the American rural home. There is every indication that the conference will be largely attended and exceedingly timely. The Home Demonstration Agents are reaching out for a program of larger scope in their work among the farm-women. There is quite a strong feeling that the great farmers' organizations should not leave the home problems entirely to the women. And, of course, the farm-women are certain to consider the home as central when deciding on their political ideals and allegiances. It is believed, therefore, that this conference will be of the very greatest importance.

FARM AND HOME OWNERSHIP AND NATIONAL STABILITY: GERMANY

E. C. BRANSON

THE LOSSES and disbursements of Germany on account of the war amount to fifty-six and one-half billion gold marks, her national wealth has shrunk fifty per cent, and her fluid capital ninety-nine per cent, said the German Chancellor to the Reichstag the other day. The figures may be a bit of special pleading by a retained attorney, but true or not true it is some such state of affairs that provokes the question I hear discussed daily—Will Germany blow up and when will it happen? I have heard this question so often that I have had to pull down on my safety valve and blow off steam.

So here is an attempt to interpret the mind of the home-owning farmers and factory workers in the little country towns of Germany. They and their families are around four-fifths of all the German people and how they feel about things is a fact and a factor of importance. I say feel,

because what the back-sweaters of every land do for the most part is to feel in dumb, dull ways, and to think, if they think at all, in inarticulate fashion. Here is a fact that makes interpretation difficult. But also it makes the effort of the social incendiary still more difficult.

Is the soul of the forty-six million home-owning farmers and factory workers of Germany seething with revolt? My answer is No, or not that I can discover after two months in the country regions of Germany. My conclusion is that there will be no revolution in Germany, and there will be short shrift for the fomenters of revolution if they start anything that even looks like a revolution. The home-owning common people are in the saddle at last in central Europe. To be sure, they are but dimly aware of themselves as yet, but they must be reckoned with today and in all future years in this new republic. They

have known exactly what to do with the falling mark, and they are well ahead of the game. The peasant farmers are rich and getting richer every day—not in marks but in substantial properties. No matter who may be poor in Germany the home-owning farmers and factory operatives are rolling in wealth, such wealth as they never before enjoyed in all their lives. They know it, and they do not want to be disturbed. The landless wage and salary earners in the cities, and the owners of secondary wealth—stocks, bonds, mortgages and the like—are in sad case, but they are relatively a very small element of population. Besides, they lack leaders strong enough to organize revolt. Germany has no Lenine or Trotsky. And clearly she has no Bismarck. It is a day of small men, and her greatest peril lies in this one fact.

I am moved to write by the anxious inquiries of a Californian with whom I traveled from Constance to Karlsruhe last Sunday. "Will this state of things end in revolution? Will Germany go the way of Russia?" he asked. "I have been living ten months," he said, "on the quivering crust of a volcano crater, expecting the blooming thing to blow up every minute. Isn't that the way you feel in Germany? Aren't you afraid to stay on any longer?"

No, I responded, decidedly not. Whereupon I proceeded to ease my mind somewhat after the following fashion.

You have been spending your time and money in Berlin and the Ruhr towns, or so I judge. You have been living in an atmosphere superheated by the frenzy of labor leaders, the fierce debates of party chiefs, and the wild cries of security-owners beggared by a debased currency, while I have been living out among the home-owning farmers and factory workers in the country towns of Germany. These people are toiling on and plodding along almost as placidly as their oxen in the fields. They are not excited about anything. Indeed I have seen but two excited men, so far, in all South Germany. One was a walking delegate on the tram from Hohenheim to Degerloch at the noon hour. Factory workers crowded the cars, going to dinner in their country village homes along the line. The workman beside him was a wit, and every once in a while

he would interject a remark that set the car in a roar of laughter. The radical labor leader with his heated talk of revolution retreated to Stuttgart on the next car, cheered on his way by the good-natured raillery of his fellow workmen. So far and no farther does Bolshevism get in the country regions among home-owning farmers and wage-earners.

Berlin and the Ruhr may be subject to brain storms, but not the country regions of Germany. Berlin in 1923 is not Germany any more than Paris was France in 1789. The revolution that Paris started in that year was fought out and at last settled by the masses of France, that is to say, by the home-owning peasant farmers and the little people possessed of small shops and businesses in the towns and cities of the provinces. They were a majority of the French people then as they are now. What they really wanted was not liberty, equality, and fraternity, but property, peace, and security. Not Paris but the home-owning poilus are France. And not Berlin but the home-owning peasants are Germany today. They own the land and who owns the land rules the realm. No lesson of history is plainer. What they crave is peace and security in the new social order. It is a fundamental human nature craving in every land and Democracy means little more anywhere than an attempt to satisfy this craving.

The people I have been closest to in Germany—the country dwellers in the farm villages—are the people John Bright had in mind when he said, "The nation in every country dwells in the cottage. Crowns and mitres, palaces and stately mansions, great armies, wide colonies, and a huge empire do not make a nation. A nation is built on the security, comfort, and contentment of the masses of plain people."

And these people as I see them day by day are planning no war, they have had enough of war, they are fleeing their homeland in millions to escape war. They want no radical socialism of any type and Bolshevism least of all. They will listen to nothing that threatens their newly acquired wealth, and I miss my guess if they do not reckon savagely with any man that confuses the peace and quiet of their daily lives.

There will doubtless be repeated party upheavals in Berlin during the next fifty years, but there

will be no social revolution in Germany, in my opinion. Democracy is a fact in Germany and it has come to stay, as I see it. There will be no slump into Communism and no return to Monarchism. So, because the home-owning masses of Germany are opposed to both. Most of the talk about these things is talk by the impoverished upper and middle classes on the one hand and by radical socialists on the other. And nearly all of it is in the large cities and the Occupied Area. But the infected section of population is a very small minority of all the German people. The owners of the substantial, producing properties of this land are a vast majority and instinctively they are thinking in self-defensive terms.

First, about stabilizing the mark on some level, any level of assured value. They talk about almost nothing else, and they see that it cannot be done until the question of Reparations is definitely and finally settled. And second, they are agreed upon the critical necessity for a strong man at the head of things—a man big enough and brave enough to solve the Reparations puzzle—a man like Bismarck, for instance, whose name I hear many times a day. If a man of his sort and size cannot be produced by the party in power, a new government seems imminent in Berlin—not a revolution but a party reversal.

"If we only had a man like Bismarck in office," my chance acquaintances say, "he'd settle things and settle them promptly; and whether we understood his decisions or not we'd follow him implicitly, no matter what it cost." I hear this said or something like it almost everywhere I turn. And, by the way, I never hear Bismarck's name without recalling the ideal and the warning he gave to Germany fifty years ago—"The unity, the development, and the security of the Empire, but no game-cock business," with emphasis on the last phrase.

But going back to the mark. When I was in Germany fifteen years ago my dollar bought four marks. It bought sixteen thousand marks when I sailed from New York ten weeks ago. Last Friday it bought sixty-six thousand marks. The day before it was worth fifteen thousand marks less; the day following it was fifteen thousand marks more. Today it buys eighty-seven thousand marks. Such is the dance of the mark from day to day and even from hour to hour. Like

Pecksniff's pony its motion is mostly up and down. If Germany were deliberately bent upon destroying her upper and middle classes, there could be no surer way than the way of the falling mark. It is just as effective as the more savage way of the Bolsheviks in Russia. It is the gentle art of murder, in De Quincey's phrase.

For instance, I stood beside a frail little woman in black at the coupon window of the Rheinland Credit Bank in Freiburg the other day. She was drawing out the semi-annual interest on her bonds. What she received was thirty-eight thousand marks, which meant in the old days some ten thousand dollars in our money. It was worth just sixty-one cents the day she cashed her coupons. On this pittance she must manage to live during the next six months—that is to say on six pounds of meal or even less. The tears streamed down her cheeks as she counted her money and silently turned away. The eyes of the cashier had a hint of mist in them. "No use," he said, "I see this sort of thing every day and all day long. I've no feeling left. She'll soon stop coming like the rest. She'll die of this thing before her next interest day."

It is in this fashion that the falling mark slays its thousands day by day. They are holders of the fluid capital accumulated in Germany in the long centuries since the Hanse towns began to create such wealth in Central Europe. They are the owners of bank account savings, stocks, bonds, notes, mortgages and other forms of bankable paper. What we call solvent credits in North Carolina are not worth the paper they are written on in Germany.

The effect upon the moral standards and sensibilities of city wage and salary earners is deadly—these classes in particular because they have no chance like the farmers and the factory owners to turn their marks into productive properties. Why save a mark when it will buy less tomorrow than today? The only way to save it is to spend it, they say. Seize upon the day, eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die, becomes a settled philosophy of life. It is the pagan philosophy of Omar and Horace. The sense of thrift is being slowly but certainly destroyed, and thrift is a foundational virtue, because it means prudential foresight and hardy self-denial. And more, it is thrift that accumulates in one generation the so-

cial surpluses that become the capital wealth of succeeding generations. Capital wealth is the material body of a civilization, related to it very much as a man's body and blood are related to his life. The destruction of the capital wealth of a people is very like the death of a man's body. When the capital wealth of Russia was destroyed, the result was chaos, and Russian civilization will have to be built anew as our mountaineers used to build their houses—from the stump up, as they say.

The physical properties of a people are one thing, their fluid capital wealth is another. I trust my readers have this distinction clearly in mind. An inflated currency stimulates a stricken people as oxygen stimulates a pneumonia patient and it is the feverish semblance of life that I am looking on in Germany these days. Destroy the physical properties of a locality by earthquake, fire or flood, and they can be rebuilt almost overnight with a sound currency and an unimpaired credit. San Francisco is a perfect illustration of this fact. But destroy the capital wealth of a country, and the untouched physical properties of it fall into decay. Petrograd is a perfect illustration of this contrasting fact.

So much by way of throwing into the spotlight Cuno's statement that the fluid capital wealth of Germany has shrunk ninety-nine per cent. If it be so, and from what I see I can well believe it, Germany is mortally stricken for all the charming outward look of things. With half of her national wealth lost and wasted in war, with her fluid capital reduced to one per cent, with a debased currency steadily destroying both her capital and the owners of it and at the same time destroying the very instincts that create such wealth, Germany's look ahead is desperate—so desperate that the Reparations question is now a question of life or death for German civilization. The mere delay, whatever the cause, has already destroyed more of her fluid capital than all the

gold marks she has ever offered to France, more indeed than France has ever demanded. Delay—delay alone—is deadlier to Germany than all the armies of France are. Only a little more of it and the German mark must go the way of the Austrian krone and the Russian rouble. In which event the day of Germany's recovery is moved forward many years or even many centuries. And the pity of it is that this fundamental fact is lost in the wrath of resentment and resistance—a wrath perfectly natural but utterly fatal.

When delay has wrought its deadliest damage, then it will be the owners of farm lands, water powers, mines, quarries and industrial plants—the owners of the producing properties in Germany—who must rebuild German civilization. And they must do it in the inescapable ways of toil and self-denial that made Germany great in the days that followed Waterloo. These are the people who today stand opposed to revolutions and revolutionaries. So because they menace the only form of wealth that is left in Germany today. And the opposition lies in deep-seated self-protective instinct. There will be no general social upheaval in Germany as in Russia, or not if I have read these people aright.

The German masses are inured to painful toil and pinching self-denial—to what they call *Genügsamkeit*. It is an outstanding national characteristic. They are good-humored, even-tempered, and patient almost beyond belief. The peasant farmers like all untutored people in every land are opposed to taxes of any sort for any purpose whatsoever, but they will pay taxes to the last mark if only they can see a settled, certain way ahead. But no matter what taxes they pay into a Reparations fund they will pay them with no thought of revolution, or so in my opinion. And so for Bolshevism or anything like it, their pitchforks are a ready argument which they have the art and the will to use.

THE LONG LANE: A STUDY IN RURAL CONSERVATISM

N. B. BOND

THIS LITTLE sketch is a simple and true story. It is a story because it has a plot, with characters, conflicts, and a climax. Its only claim for consideration in a study which deals with the principles of community organization is that it is a story about community conservatism and how some of it, at least, was broken down.

First, the setting. A remote Southern community located at the heart of the largest long-leaf-yellow-pine forest in the world, cut off from almost every influence without, not by rivers, mountains, or other natural barriers but by customs and traditions within the community itself. In one respect, however, it was extremely modern—it was thoroughly organized. In fact, without the perfect organization which characterized the community there would be no story for me to write. It was a patriarchy. I have read in Biblical history of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and have studied the patriarchal family as an institution; and I am sure that this community, with but slight modifications and accentuations here and there, would qualify as a patriarchy. Of course, adaptations to the larger government under which we live were necessarily made, but otherwise rule in the community was that of a thoroughgoing patriarchy. Now, there was a school in this community and I was the teacher; that is why I know the story.

The leading characters were Henry and Uncle Sam. I place Henry first because I think he was the hero, and Uncle Sam was only the one who stood in his way. Henry was a tall, bony fellow of nineteen years with sandy hair, a freckled face, and an intense grin that came and went intermittently like the signs that flash at night on a downtown street. In reading and spelling he always stood at the foot, his six feet towering far above his mates as they lined against the wall for the class. But he seemed unconscious of any disparity, and his many blundering errors were enjoyed by no one more than himself. Both "the foot" and the errors were his from long usage, he never thought of exchanging them for the monotony of success, and I finally concluded that

there in the fourth grade he should remain, a happy and perfectly successful failure.

Uncle Sam was Henry's grandfather, and the patriarch of the community. He was tall and straight with a great white beard that flowed in rugged waves to his waist line. There was at times a genial gleam in his eyes, but usually his glance was hard and piercing for rarely was he unconscious, I think, of the dignity and responsibilities of his high authority. He was father, grandfather, or greatgrandfather of all the community. There were, indeed, a few families who were not of his clan, but these were small in number and none ever dared to question his authority. In token of our submission we on the outside called him Uncle Sam; to all others he was "Pa" in the first, second, or third degree. For more than fifty years he had ruled without a single rebellion, for his rule was paternal and had been, in some respects, wise. When sons and daughters married he gave them land and stock for a farm, not so much of either but as he said "a plenty;" and then he ordered a gathering of all the families to clear the land and raise the house. He sold the cotton and bought supplies in lots for all, and in all matters of concern to the community all acted together—that is, until this story begins. The good in Uncle Sam's rule was pointed to by him as justification for much which, in my opinion was bad. He fought every change; the modern world was to him the "latter days" when men should "wax worse and worse." His favorite topic, when his clan gathered about him, was the wickedness of the present times and the golden age which he alone remembered. He proved it all, too, by the Scriptures, for these left out nothing. Often he would quote his favorite passage on the inclusive character of the Bible, which ended with "thoroughly furnished unto all good works." The Bible was to him the only book worth reading, all else was "trash" and but the "wisdom of man" which is but foolishness to God. Innovation had become the unpardonable sin, and there had been none except that plows had been improved some, two or three of his "grandchilun"

had "gone off" to school, and since the lumber corporation had bought nearly all the timber lands and were paying ninety per cent of all taxes in the school district the school was branching out a little and a new building had been erected. Uncle Sam was senior deacon in the Landmark Baptist Church, one of his sons and two sons-in-law made up the school board, almost to a man the community voted as he advised in all elections, and in the church no one ever thought of opposing his wishes. Now, every person in the community joined the church as soon as Uncle Sam thought he was "old enough to know what he was a-doin'." There was no Sunday school, no dancing, no ball playing. These were but tricks of the devil; and the trustees of the school informed me—at his command—that there must be no playing of basket ball. As for Sunday schools, these were but an assault on the sovereignty of God. Wouldn't He save a man if He wanted him without the help of a Sunday school teacher?

On the first day of school I informed the boys that by order of the school board there must be no ball playing, but in doing so I assumed an attitude of indifference and implied that I had nothing to do with the matter. As I expected, the fight was to be between the boys and Uncle Sam. They were wild to play and put out a winning team, for they were sure they had the material. So was I. They soon grew rebellious, threatened to leave school, and said they were not allowed the privileges given in all other schools. But the board coached by Uncle Sam stood firm. The issue, however, kept narrowing down, and I saw that soon it would go into the church. This happened when the boys, led by one not of Uncle Sam's clan, threatened open rebellion. Uncle Sam sent word down to the school that if there was any ball playing he would have "the last one" turned out of the church. I knew then that Uncle Sam had been forced to his last resort. It was the final factor in all decisions, and in that community he was its oracle. No preacher had ever dared disagree with him and hope to have an audience in the community. All the boys were members of the church and none of them cared to undergo the virtual excommunication which expulsion from the church would mean. The nonconformist would meet with parental ob-

jections in paying attentions to girls, and the religious factor itself loomed very large. So, for a number of days it appeared that the boys were accepting final defeat.

Henry, so far as I knew, had taken no part in the controversy, but had been occupied otherwise. About the close of the previous session the boys had put up goals and bought a ball, and this ball had been brought to the school. Now while the other boys were waging their fight for basket ball up around the school house, Henry was spending his recess time down on the ball court pitching goals. In a short time he had developed a very remarkable skill, and could stand in the middle of the court and make the goal almost every time. The other boys discovered this and said that if the team was organized Henry must be center player. This news dawned upon Henry as a grand surprise, and gave him the first thrill of real success he ever knew. Boys of his own age and size had accepted him as an equal and praised his exceptional skill. Immediately he became a loud proponent of basket ball.

On the following Saturday Uncle Sam's clan gathered down at his farm to pull corn. Soon after the work began conversation turned to the basket ball controversy, and Henry boldly championed the cause of the boys. The older men teased him and frequently recalled the threat which "pa" had made to turn them out of the church. This stirred Henry with resentment. Soon Uncle Sam appeared and stood under a large tree waiting for the group to work up to the fence. As they gathered about him he gave some instructions concerning the work, and then one of his sons ventured to remark that he was afraid they would have to "tend to Henry about that basket ball business." Uncle Sam straightened and pronounced his usual anathemas together with many quotations from the scriptures about "the last days," and ended by saying, "I'll have the whole passel turned out of the church."

Immediately Henry burst through the group like a wild rebel, shook his hand in the old man's face, and shouted: "You can't do it, you can't, and you can't do no such a thing. You ain't got nothing but the Bible, and it don't say nothing about basket ball. 'Fore you can turn me out a the church you got to show where it says 'Don't play basket ball;' you can't do it, and you know

you can't do it, and I'm going to play." With this angry declaration he brushed by his bewildered kinsmen and fiercely resumed pulling corn.

The old man was stunned, and made no reply. The men returned to their corn pulling, some solemnly and others with an expression of amused surprise, and Uncle Sam went back to the house. One of his sons told me of the incident the next day, and said, "Henry jest naturally got the best of pa."

I never knew just what method Uncle Sam followed in making his surrender, or what conversations followed Henry's outbreak. On Monday afternoon, however, the three trustees rode up to the school as the children were leaving and informed me that they had decided that if I would "watch the boys and keep down trouble it would be all right for them to play." The next morning there was general rejoicing at school, and Henry was elected center player. Within a month we had won our first game. After that basket ball was the main subject of conversation among both old and young in the community.

Later I organized a Sunday school, and on my invitation Uncle Sam delivered an address at the first meeting. After that I asked for a piano, which was readily granted, though one of the trustees said he "never did like the tin pan things." Then one morning one of the trustees came to me and said: "I want us to get one of these things so the children can drink without any danger of 'em catching diseases." I agreed with him and purchased a modern sanitary drinking fountain equipped for rural schools.

* * *

I believe analysis shows the following factors operated to break down, at least in part, the conservatism of this remote community. First, the community became aware of the fact that a foreign corporation owned nine-tenths of the taxable property in the school district, while the citizens of the district held the power to levy taxes. This aroused a spirit of liberality (with the other fellow's money). As Professor R. A.

Cummins has said: "The first sign of the socializing of a school board is seen in the loosening of the purse strings."¹ Easy money made them loosen the purse strings and decide to give their children a better school, and this helped additionally. Second, social assimilation was going on. The more progressive communities which surrounded this one were having their influence upon it, and modern life generally was having its effect through such agencies as the rural free delivery. Third, the conflict between youth and age were in this process. The patriarch had retained his power over his children, but their children were too far removed by a modern world from the past which he represented. Fourth, there was, I truly believe, a disillusionizing of the community concerning the all-inclusive and absolute religious sanction which had formerly characterized it, and I believe that this was precipitated by the furious outbreak of the nonconformist, my simple-minded hero Henry.

* * *

The day I left the community Uncle Sam was standing at the foot of his long lane, waiting to tell me good-bye as I passed. I remember well what he said: "Fessor, I'm sorry you're leaving us; we got a fine bunch of young people here, but us old folks, we ain't much."

The last time I saw Henry was the day his regiment left camp for overseas. They were marching through a cold rain, and when he saw me, though he dared not turn his head, his face lighted up with the old grin. I stood and watched him as he marched on, and saw the grin fade as his face settled to a grim seriousness. Well it might, for his regiment left him buried on a battlefield in France. I have always felt grateful to him, and when I see a pretentious and bigoted religious dictator attempting to coerce and oppress without the warrant either of reason or Scripture, I am sure that we need many others who have his spirit and courage.

¹ American Journal of Sociology, Sept., 1920, p. 204.

The special theme of the Alabama Conference which meets in March at the State University will be that of County and Rural Social Work.

Progress in Town and City Programs

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

PLANNING POWERS OF MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENTS

MIRIAM I. ROSS

MOST PEOPLE think of planning as a new power for a state department and few realize the extent of the work Massachusetts, through her state departments, has already done in this field. The history of the growth of this work points to a gradually increasing recognition of problems and a desire to meet these problems in a scientific way. As the civic consciousness is awakened to the need of far-sighted planning public opinion is created and legislative action results. The first legislative act to grant planning powers to a state department in Massachusetts recognized the dangers of grade crossings and sought to lessen accidents from this cause. The problem of transporting people and goods safely and conveniently has long been a recognized problem. Realization of the effects localities have on the health of the people brought more legislation, to be followed by acts concerning the purity of the water supply, drainage and sewage disposal. Soon it became evident that laws were needed to ensure protection from fire to persons employed in large numbers under one roof; that laws were needed, also, to protect the public from poorly built theatres, halls and other public buildings; and that some state supervision was needed to ensure even decently wholesome living conditions for the people of the commonwealth.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

In 1864 the Board of Railroad Commissioners was formed, its chief duties at that time being to make grade crossings more safe. The Board of Gas Commissioners was established in 1885. From these beginnings was evolved our present Department of Public Utilities with its powers of supervision over such chartered public utility

corporations as gas and electric companies, water companies, railroad corporations, street railway companies and telephone and telegraph companies. There are engaged in some form of public utility operation under the jurisdiction of the department 366 companies, persons, associations and municipalities. The department studies the problems of these companies and gives assistance where possible to them and to the public served by them. Special investigations and reports to the legislature are made when necessary, complaints received and hearings held. A special report of the department to the legislature on transportation facilities in the metropolitan district is of great interest, resulting, as it did, in the formation of a Division of Metropolitan Planning in the Metropolitan District Commission.

HIGHWAY AND HARBOR PLANNING

The Department of Public Works grew from the Board of Harbor Commissioners established in 1866 and the Massachusetts Highway Commission established in 1893. It now has two divisions with planning powers clearly established,—the Division of Highways and the Division of Waterways and Public Lands.

The Division of Highways is empowered to advise and coöperate with local governments in the construction of public ways; to maintain and repair state highways, to erect guide-posts, to care for trees, and to prepare highway maps; to regulate billboards; to collect information relative to the geological formation of the commonwealth, so far as it relates to materials for road-building; and to take land by eminent domain on behalf of the Commonwealth. In addition to its work of road-building, widening, tree-planting,

and advice to municipalities, the Division of Highways has drawn up a five-year program for highway work and a program for strengthening or rebuilding the many inadequate bridges of the state. At the end of the year 1922 the total length of state highways was 1,440.121 miles. For construction of state highways alone \$2,883,592.54 was spent in 1922. The division has made rules and regulations for the control of billboards, has issued licenses and permits and has set apart four scenic highways on which billboards will be forbidden. Out of 17 local ordinances and by-laws submitted by cities and towns, two have received the approval of the division.

The Division of Waterways and Public Lands is empowered to take charge of the lands, rights in lands, flats, shores and all rights in tide waters belonging to the commonwealth; to develop Boston harbor; to improve and preserve rivers and harbors; and to take and hold real estate and build thereon, and to lease wharves and piers. Work of this division includes pier improvement, filling and improvement of flats, harbor dredging, river improvement and shore protection by sea-walls. Reclamation of the province lands is being carried on. A study has been made of the great ponds in the commonwealth not under the jurisdiction of any other state department.

PLANNING FOR HEALTH

The importance of health was early recognized and the Board of Health and Vital Statistics was established in 1869. The act establishing this board read in part as follows: "They shall make sanitary investigations and inquiries in respect to the people, the causes of disease, and especially of epidemics and the sources of mortality and the effects of localities, employments, conditions and circumstances on the public health." Through various stages this board has developed into the Department of Public Health. Its powers, so far as they relate to planning include: sanitary investigations and inquiries relative to the causes of disease, the sources of mortality and the effects of localities, etc., on the public health; examination annually of all main outlets of sewers and drainage of towns of the commonwealth, and the effect of sewage disposal; making of rules for the sanitary protection of waters used for water supply; and advising municipalities with reference to water supply, drainage and sewerage.

The following are among the recent accomplishments of the department in carrying out these duties: a three-years' investigation of the water supply needs of the commonwealth by this department and the Metropolitan District Commission which resulted in important recommendations; advice given to cities and towns with reference to water supply, ice supply, sewerage and pollution of streams; assistance given to the State Reclamation Board in connection with plans for the drainage of wet lands; study of sewerage systems; study of nuisances caused by oil refineries; and study of the purification of wastes from industrial works and their effect on streams.

PLANNING FOR SAFETY

In 1877 inspection of public buildings was made one of the duties of the state detective force established in 1865. Interest at that time centred largely in means of egress in case of fire and protection of employees from dangerous machinery. Here is found the germ of the present Department of Public Safety with its Division of Inspection and its Division of Fire Prevention. The Division of Inspection supervises plans and construction of public buildings; inspects public buildings and enforces laws regarding them; licenses theatres and inspects elevators. State building inspectors may be called upon by cities and towns having no inspector to inspect buildings which have been reported dangerous. The Division of Fire Prevention investigates causes of fires; makes rules for the removal of combustible materials likely to cause fires, rules for keeping of explosives; and studies fire hazard and fire protection and makes suggestions for the improvement of laws.

The Division of Inspection is under the charge of a director known as the Chief of Inspections. The buildings which come under the regulation of this department are of a public or semi-public nature and include public buildings, theatres, halls, churches, schools, places of assembly and places of public resort, factories, hotels, lodging and apartment houses and buildings containing eight or more rooms above the second floor occupied for either business or habitation.

The Division of Fire Prevention is under the charge of a director known as the State Fire Marshall who is also Fire Prevention Commis-

sioner for the metropolitan district. All fires in the city of Boston and all incendiary fires or fires of unknown origin occurring throughout the state are investigated. Duties include also enforcement of rules and regulations pertaining to garages, explosives, fireworks and volatile inflammable liquids and compounds. The last report of the Department of Public Safety states that loss by fire is annually increasing in this commonwealth and offers better building construction as one means of reducing fire hazard.

METROPOLITAN PLANNING

The Metropolitan District Commission was formed by uniting three separate commissions;—the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission established in 1889, the Metropolitan Park Commission established in 1893, and the Metropolitan Water Board established in 1895. The sewerage district includes 26 municipalities in which the Commission is charged with the construction and maintenance of a sewerage system. The water district includes 19 municipalities. Within this district is maintained a system of metropolitan water works. The parks district includes 37 municipalities within which the Metropolitan District Commission may take or acquire lands for reservation, boulevards and parkways. This year was enacted an important piece of legislation affecting metropolitan planning when the Division of Metropolitan Planning was formed within the Metropolitan District Commission. This action is the result of a growing traffic and transportation problem and recognition of the fact that means must be found of solving this problem. The Division of Metropolitan Planning is empowered to investigate transportation service and facilities within a metropolitan district including 39 municipalities, the coördination thereof, confer with the planning boards and recommend methods of executing and paying for the same.

The work of this Commission shows that much has been done toward metropolitan planning along certain lines. In an area of about 400 square miles there is a park area of 14 square miles. The parks and boulevards include about 106 miles of carriage roads; six beaches, with a total frontage of 13 miles; more than 53 miles of river banks; four bath-houses; the Charles river and Cradock bridge dams and locks; and

the Boston and Cambridge embankments. The commission maintains and protects from pollution a water-supply for 19 municipalities and maintains and operates all the works for removing sewage from 26 municipalities. It is hoped that the new Division of Metropolitan Planning will do much toward the solution of the traffic and transportation problem of the district.

ABANDONED FARMS

In 1891 there was passed an act to authorize the State Board of Agriculture to collect and circulate information relating to abandoned farms. Duties were to collect all necessary information in regard to the opportunities for developing the agricultural resources of the commonwealth through the repopulation of abandoned or partially abandoned farms, and cause the facts obtained, and a statement of the advantages offered, to be circulated where and in such manner as the board considered for the best interests of the commonwealth. The board was authorized to spend \$2,000 for this purpose.

The work is now a duty of the Division of Information of the Department of Agriculture. A list of farms for sale is maintained by the division for the use of people interested, the majority of inquiries coming from families of limited means who desire to live outside the city limits.

FOREST PLANNING

The Division of Forestry was formed within the Department of Conservation in 1904. It was entrusted with the duties of promoting the perpetuation, extension and proper management of the public and private forest lands of the commonwealth; replanting and management of all forest lands of the commonwealth; advising forest owners; purchasing land for experiment and illustration in forest management; purchase or taking of land for state forests; and providing seedlings for town forests.

About twenty years ago in Massachusetts the practice of scientific forestry as a state work was begun. The importance of this work is pointed out in the last report of the Department of Conservation, in which appears the following statement: "In Massachusetts we have more than a million acres of non-agricultural land suitable

only for forest growth that can be made to yield enormous profits, but do not. A liberal forestry program contemplates the utilization of these lands for the production of commercial trees." That this work is needed is emphasized by the statement that whereas once Massachusetts produced from her own soil all the timber she used she now imports 80 per cent of the amount used. Protection of forests from fire is a part of the work of the division and 39 observation stations are maintained from which the whole forest area of the state may be surveyed. This forest area covers a little over 52,000 acres and is being added to yearly. State plantations and nurseries are maintained and educational work is also carried on by the department.

IMPROVEMENT OF LOW LANDS AND SWAMPS

For the improvement of low lands a State Reclamation Board has been formed by act of the legislature in 1923 consisting of one member of the Department of Public Health and one member of the Department of Agriculture. Duties of this board include: investigation of the question of utilizing the wet lands to ascertain what lands may advantageously be drained for agricultural or industrial uses, for the protection of the public health, for the utilization of deposits therein, or for other purposes. This board was previously called the State Drainage Board, the formation of which, in 1918, was the result of a report made at the request of the legislature the preceding year. Before this, in 1913, the State Board of Agriculture and the State Board of Health acting as a joint board were authorized, with the approval of the governor and council, to purchase or take by right of eminent domain wet lands to be drained, reclaimed and cultivated. Before the enactment of this measure improvement of low lands was brought about by petition of the proprietors and appointment by the courts of commissioners to carry on the work.

HOUSING

Interest in housing and in ventilation and sanitation provisions is fairly recent, not receiving legislative recognition until 1912 when the permissive state tenement house act for towns was passed, followed in 1913 by the state tenement house act for cities and the establishment of the

Homestead Commission. The state tenement house acts cannot properly be included under the heading "State Planning" as they are subject to local acceptance and local administration. The Homestead Commission is now known as the Division of Housing and Town Planning of the Department of Public Welfare. Its duties are as follows: to investigate defective housing, the evils resulting therefrom and the remedies; to study the operation of building laws and laws relating to tenement houses; to promote the formation of organizations intended to increase the number of wholesome homes for the people; and to encourage the creation of local planning boards, gather information for their use and for the use of city governments and selectmen in towns. It has power, with the consent of the governor and council, to take land, and build and sell houses for the purpose of relieving congestion.

In the performance of its duties the division has recently made a study of the building and housing laws of the commonwealth finding three kinds of codes: building codes which regulate materials of construction and give some degree of fire protection; tenement house acts which cover tenement houses only, but which make some provision for light and air, size of rooms, privacy and sanitation; and housing codes which make these provisions for all dwellings. Results showed 20 cities and towns protected by building laws only; 14 with tenement house acts; 4 with housing codes and 25 cities and towns which have accepted the state tenement house act.

The division keeps in close touch and assists as much as possible the 62 active planning boards in the state. To help in this work a new position has been created, that of State Consultant on Housing and Town Planning. The creation of new boards is encouraged and information on housing and town planning gathered and disseminated.

HOUSING AND RENTS

To deal with the recent and widespread rent increases a temporary commission known as the Commission on the Necessaries of Life was created by act of the legislature in 1919. This commission was established for the term of one year but each year has been granted another year of

life as the need for it continues to exist. The commission deals with rent and eviction problems. In carrying out its duties it has made a study of the extent of the housing shortage in Massachusetts and has acted as a go-between for landlords and tenants during the housing emergency. Evils which the commission has tried to combat include the prohibition of children from rented houses; the summary eviction of tenants; and unjust and exorbitant increases in rents.

For about sixty years Massachusetts has been developing her planning powers. The growth has constantly been toward a more definite policy of comprehensive planning. First the state concerned itself with such matters as safety of grade crossings and means of egress from public buildings in case of fire, gradually extending her powers to include more definite planning such as far-

sighted programs of highway development, forest preservation and extension and reclamation of wet lands. Two important steps were taken in 1923. One was the formation within the Metropolitan District Commission of the Division of Metropolitan Planning which will work for the improvement and coordination of transportation facilities for an area including thirty-seven cities and towns. The other legislative acts of 1923 which will have a direct influence on the planning work throughout the whole state authorized the appointment in the Division of Housing and Planning of a State Consultant whose duties will include advising and cooperating with the sixty-two local planning boards already functioning, the carrying on of educational work and a campaign to stimulate interest and action in places where no planning is being done.

EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF A COMMUNITY SURVEY

MANUEL C. ELMER

IT IS NO longer necessary to convince social workers and progressive citizens of the value of social surveys, or of the advisability of having accurate data at hand before planning any social program. Business men would not think of making any investment or extension of their business activities without first securing data relating to the undertaking. Likewise, social workers now take it for granted that the first requirement for any line of development of social work is a thorough knowledge of the conditions and activities existing within the area in which work is being planned. The value of careful work of this nature, before proceeding toward the inauguration of a definite program, does not need any defense.

In addition to the generally recognized value which the social survey is to the social worker in outlining his program of activities, and to the sociologist because of the contribution to the accumulation of carefully compiled data, it may be of immeasurable educational value to the community involved. Too frequently no advantage is taken of this latter possibility. Sometimes the educational value to the group is not recognized. Sometimes it is recognized, but neglected because

of the additional amount of work and supervision. Occasionally a few individuals or an organization desire to get the entire credit for the study, and try to make it without letting anyone else share the "glory." There have been times when individuals have made a brave attempt to make use of the survey as an educational factor, but because of inadequate organization and direction, they lost control of the machinery, resulting in the complete failure of all aspects of the community study.

Let us take the case of a neighborhood in which a community survey was recently made,¹ and where all three aspects of the study were provided for and covered, e. g. scientific data, information and data to serve as a basis for a social work program, and community education through organization and active participation. We will confine our discussion to the educational phase of the survey. This neighborhood is a definite social unit. First, it is geographically a unit, being located on the eastern edge of the city, and cut off from adjoining parts by rail-

¹A joint study of the Tuttle-Columbus School neighborhoods in Minneapolis, Minnesota, made co-operatively by the neighborhoods involved and an advanced class in Methods of Social Investigation at the University of Minnesota.

road tracks. Second, it is a rather uniformly middle-class community of home owning citizens, with nearly three-fourths of the parents born in the United States,—a rather high proportion for Minnesota. Third, it is composed very largely of members of the Lutheran, Catholic and Congregational churches. Fourth, three-fourths of the families have lived in that community for ten years or longer. Fifth, a very small percentage of families are without children, also few recently married couples, or very old couples. Sixth, nearly all have definite interests of one kind or another within this somewhat isolated area, and have the feeling likewise, that this district was positively differentiated from the rest of the city. In short, there is a homogeneity of interests, and a feeling of group consciousness due to the fact that they live within this area, as well as the homogeneity of special group interests. The defining of an area for study on the basis of some definite consciousness or group interest is the first *prerequisite* of a community survey.

Several years ago there had been a very active community club in this district. Regular meetings were held in the Tuttle School and the organizations served as a voluntary clearing house for the various agencies in the community. For a while a part-time secretary was employed. When the newness began to wear off, interest began to lag. There was no special community program and each of the special organizations began to look about for something to do to keep its own head above water. The community club soon became merely a more or less regular dance in the school house. Some people objected to dancing. Some objected to the use of the school building by persons other than school children. There was rather general objection to the fact that persons from outside of the neighborhood came. Meetings were finally discontinued.

A group of younger business men organized a commercial club. They were without any definite program, so their meetings began to lag. They had rented quarters, open every evening. Since there was no definite program the older men and more serious men stopped coming. There began to be rumors about the district that the Commercial Club was not adding to the prestige of the community. It finally closed its headquarters.

There was another civic body—an "Improvement Association." This had been in existence for twenty years. They never held regular meetings, but usually got back of any definite movement. However, other groups accused them of being interested primarily in political activities.

There were the usual number of mothers clubs, parent-teacher associations, organizations connected with churches, welfare agencies, and city wide agencies either having branches in the district, or whose activities extended into parts thereof. None of the organizations were satisfied that the needs of the community were being met. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Girl Reserves, complained that there were no leaders available. The people of one school district felt that their very inadequate school was due to lack of coöperation of the other district. There was a rather unsettled, disgruntled feeling evident throughout the district. "Dame Rumor" began to get busy complaining in turn about nearly every aspect of community life, without anything definite about anything. The little park, the playgrounds, politics, religious differences, illicit sale of liquor, gambling, immorality among young people, the schools, all came in for their share. In despair a few began to say "well what can we do about it?" Some of the leading citizens of the community decided to have the situation clarified. The first step in the program of education was then taken.

A general call was sent out for a mass meeting. The district newspaper gave space freely, club and group leaders were informed, while from the schools a notice was sent with each child. Two speakers were secured, one from the university and one from the city schools. Less than 20 people responded, and several of these were teachers in the school.

Was the meeting a failure? Indeed not! The program went off as scheduled. The speakers were grilled. The "mass" meeting became a business meeting, lasting until eleven o'clock, when it was decided that the chairman, a business man nationally known should appoint an investigation committee to see whether anything further should be attempted, or everything allowed to develop in its own way.

The following week this special committee met. One of the speakers of the previous meeting met with them. Definite questions were asked the

members of the committee. At first they attempted to make brave generalizations. Then they became more and more hesitant. Finally, one burst forth, "Say folks, I have lived here twenty-four years and I don't know anything about my own community." All the rest came to the same conclusion. They decided that it would be a waste of time, and expenditure of effort which must end in failure, if they floundered into some program of community activity without knowledge of their assets and liabilities. They believed however that most of the data they needed might be secured from the agencies organized and working in the community and that the first thing necessary was to meet again, asking representatives of each agency to meet with this committee, in order that the facts known might be correlated and combined for their mutual benefit.

Thus we find the second step accomplished. The community leaders recognized their lack of understanding of existing conditions and activities, and the necessity for getting in touch with the different persons acquainted with some particular phase of their group life. There had been awakened in them a desire to "Know their community."

The chairman of this small committee made a list of all the agencies in the community and each was asked to send a representative the following week. Several responded. Most of them did not respond. At this second meeting many phases of community activity were frankly discussed. An attempt was made to check the various activities regarding which there had been unfavorable rumors. The representatives of the agencies which had responded were questioned concerning their work and program. They frankly stated that they were handicapped in their work, first, by a lack of a thorough knowledge of the community and its inter-related activities, and second, because of the lack of understanding by the community of the work they were trying to do. A little discussion convinced the members of this small committee that even though they were the leaders of organizations, they were unfamiliar with what was being attempted.

It was decided that a community survey should be made. The department of sociology of the university was asked to direct the study. This

was consented to with the proviso that the community *would do the work* and provide a maximum of \$250.00 for getting the results before the community.

The first step was the organization of the community into *permanent* committees. Eight committees were organized with the double objective of serving as committees of investigation and to be permanent groups in the community.² These committees were very large, having from twelve to eighteen people each. The reason for this was because the outstanding purpose of the community survey was to be of value in *educating the community*.

An attempt was made to have representatives of *every* group in the community. Chairmen were selected with the greatest care, and were given instruction to add to their committees as many additional members as they desired. In all, over one hundred and fifty people were invited to serve on committees of which about one hundred and twenty responded.

The point now reached was of utmost importance. Here were 120 active, alert, busy, sometimes critical, individuals willing to do something. This is where failure often begins. The work they were to do had however been prepared for them.

At the university an advanced class in Methods of Social Investigation, composed of about 40 students trained in field work, had been organized into committees identical to those in the community. The work of each committee had been carefully outlined. Two representatives of each student committee met with the chairman of the community committee to discuss plans. Then each community committee met, and the carefully prepared plans and schedules were assigned. No person was assigned any task which he could not do in two or three hours time. All were admonished to have everything in the following week. The chairmen called each member the day before the next meeting of the committee, reminding them of the work to be done. The next week all of the committees met, with practically all assigned work done. More work was assigned for the following week. Enthusiasm began to grow. In the meantime the student committees were working overtime. They checked up all

² See Elmer, *Technique of Social Surveys*. Minneapolis, 1920.

material sent in. Special details of the work were attended to by them. Phases of the study which required the work of trained persons were carefully done by persons equipped to do so. After the second week's work, the 120 citizens and 40 students had created enough interest that requests for a mass meeting came in. Altogether, 32 committee meetings were held, and 4 community mass meetings. These meetings were not haphazard. The field to be covered by each one was as carefully prepared as the lectures and recitations in a university course of study. The 120 participating members felt they were a part of the study. They had been brought into touch with activities in the community with which they had had only a "rumor" acquaintance. The committees made up of individuals having similar interests, but previously not really acquainted with each other due to the fact that they belonged to different organizations, now recognized the similarity of their views. They had *worked* together. They *remained* permanent committees, and at times carefully defended their position as being the *central* committee and made up of representatives of the separate agencies.

Thus, briefly, was the educational aspect of the community survey carried out. In a community of less than 4,000, a total of 120 people, representatives of every group interest, were given something definite to do. They met at regular

intervals, in carefully planned stages of procedure, and the work and findings were discussed. These findings were summarized and presented at four big mass meetings where in addition to the local problem, general aspects of similar problems were discussed in several cases by nationally known experts in their respective fields. A total of over four full pages of space were given by the city daily papers, and the local paper printed in the community, and the final report in pamphlet form was printed and distributed in the community. The community had a good course of study in community problems.

The specific results of the survey, have not been mentioned in this paper. While some results of the survey are only of local interest, there is much data of permanent value, the accumulation of which is of importance to the sociologist in his attempt to interpret social processes. Likewise data was obtained which may be used as the basis for the program of the agencies at work in the community. The Commercial Club has been reorganized, the Woman's Community Council has established an additional supervised playground—and other activities have received impetus, all of which we feel, however, to be of less importance than the educational results obtained by the community through *active participation*.

UNUSUAL MEETINGS AT WASHINGTON NOVEMBER 13th-18th

Among the groups, interested primarily in town and city programs and meeting in Washington in November are: City Manager's Association; The National Municipal League; The National Association of Civic Secretaries; The Governmental Research Conference; The Association of Urban Universities. This will be one of the most satisfactory correlation of group interests ever planned in this field. The railroads are offering rates.

The Work of Women's Organizations

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

SOUTHERN PIONEERS IN SOCIAL INTERPRETATION:

I. MADELINE McDOWELL BRECKINRIDGE

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

IT IS PERHAPS well to state briefly the few biographical facts that must be kept in mind in any attempt at a review of the slightly more than two decades of the public service of Madeline McDowell Breckinridge, a pioneer in Social Interpretation and Social Work in the South.

She was born May 20, 1872, in Franklin County, Kentucky, the youngest but one in a family of seven children, two other daughters and four sons. The youngest child, a boy, died at the age of four; the other children all survive her. When she was ten, her father, Major Henry Clay McDowell, named for the "Great Commoner" but related to him only by having married his grand-daughter, Anne Clay, bought "Ashland" the home of Henry Clay, lying just outside of Lexington and owned by his descendants until 1866, when it passed into the ownership of the State A. and M. College, that is the Land-Grant College of Kentucky. Here she lived until her marriage, November 17, 1898, to Desha Breckenridge, of Lexington. And here, after her marriage, she and her husband had, as it were, a second home; for her mother lived there until February of 1917, an aged and beloved aunt until December of 1918, and a devoted sister with her family still lives there.

She had a peculiar sense of identification with Kentucky, with Kentucky's past as well as with Kentucky's present. In fact, a "sense of the past," to use Henry James's phrase, was in all her feeling for the present and in all her aspiration for the future. To understand this, one has only briefly to recall the part her ancestors played in the earlier Kentucky of heroic deeds.

Her father's great-grandfather, Samuel McDowell, was associated with the pioneer days of privation and exposure, and with the struggle to organize an independent state government as well as with efforts to secure greater safety and comfort in living conditions. Born in Pennsylvania of Calvinist immigrant parents, he moved in 1784 from Virginia, where his parents had made their later home, to Kentucky, was one of the three justices presiding over the first district court in Kentucky, and later was one of those presiding over the first county court, and presided over a series of nine conventions whose protests led to the recognition of Kentucky as a separate state. Her grandfather, also Samuel McDowell, fought in the Indian wars and was first United States marshal for Kentucky in 1792. His younger brother, Ephraim, her great-uncle, was a pioneer in the field of surgery, and performed in 1809, under conditions of great popular excitement and of great personal peril the first operation in ovariectomy. Her grandfather, William Adair McDowell, another beloved and distinguished physician, published in 1842 a treatise on the *Curability of Pulmonary Consumption in All Its Stages*; and, on one of the highways entering the city, stands a memorial to the civic contributions of her father, to whose teaching and companionship she was greatly indebted.

In her mother's veins ran the blood of the Harts, whose name is associated with the dream of western empire registered in the Transylvania enterprise and of Henry Clay, whose home at Ashland was from the earliest years of the nineteenth century a place of almost pious pilgrimage to visitors from other countries as well as

to citizens of the United States. LaFayette, Harriet Martineau, Webster, Thackeray, Olmsted, are a few of the names on the roll of distinguished persons who sought and enjoyed its hospitality. Here she learned to know and to enjoy nature and formed friendships with those of every age and of all economic levels. With all who cherished beauty and desired to convert principle into conduct, she was at home. She loved books too, and from these varied sources, she enriched her own thinking and living. She was very active until about 1893 when she became the victim of a malady that limited her physical activity. In appearance, she was tall and slender, with great dark eyes, soft abundant brown hair, and an "orator's" mouth very like that made familiar in the pictures of Henry Clay. By nature she was merry and full of gaiety, with quick response to every appeal for help or for sympathy, and with a voice of rare quality, wide range, and irresistible charm. Perhaps her dominating characteristic, however, was fearlessness, the fearlessness that stands undaunted before suffering and death not only, but likewise before life and its problems.

Her public service began at a moment of great community excitement. One afternoon in February of 1899, a brutal murder was committed on the streets of Lexington by a member of a criminal political gang who had enjoyed the protection of the law-enforcing agencies of the city. No steps were taken by the authorities either to hold the murderer, or, after he escaped, to re-apprehend him. She had already become active in the club organization of the city and the women at this crisis attempted to develop a plan by which the murderer's arrest might be secured and a beginning made in the creation of respect for the law and the courts. She was chairman of the committee framing the resolutions at that time and it is not surprising that as her personal interest in public undertakings had such an initiation, during the following twenty-one years of her unceasing public effort, she was likewise unceasing in her emphasis on the relation of orderly processes to sound progress, so that she was never deceived into accepting the statutory enactment divorced from honest enforcement and efficient administration.

She was, in this first instance, not satisfied with effort looking to apprehension and punishment. A study of the neighborhood from which the murderer and his associates came brought home to her the fact that it was a neighborhood of "mean streets," poor houses, unskilled and underpaid labor, and, above all, of neglected childhood, without facilities for schooling or for play. Into that neighborhood she went bearing some of the gifts so greatly needed, and today there stands above the homes, overlooking the slopes of the precipitate streets, a noble school building, serving not only to instruct the children but to minister to the neighborhood needs as well. A gymnasium, a swimming pool, a playground, a laundry and a community kitchen make it a place in which "all sorts and conditions of men" find aid and comfort and skilled service. It does not bear her name although the Board of Education asked that it might; for, at her request, it was named the Abraham Lincoln School.

It is not true, of course, that she accomplished this alone or all at once. The agency through which the task was achieved was the Civic League, an organization formed for the temporary and emergency work connected with the murder, which functions yet, nobly and competently in behalf of the children of Lexington, and especially of the part of Lexington, known as "Irish-town" from which the gang had come. The methods used by the league are of especial interest only in one respect. She had great confidence in public service. She was accustomed to the idea of public office being nobly held. But she was not unaware of the ignoble aspects of public life and she believed in the largest possible coöperation between public and private agencies.

Her plan for this coöperation was a somewhat uncommon plan. She did not resort to the usual device of initiating by private effort a piece of experimental work and after a reasonable period of fair success in a limited field, persuading the public authorities to take over the undertaking. This plan has many elements of progress and of strength. It suffers almost inevitably, however, from this element of weakness, namely, that those who have been concerned to initiate are generally absorbed in again initiating and are therefore not at hand to lend swift aid when the plan is sub-

jected to the new tests of universality and of continuity. For public undertakings by their very nature must, in theory at least, be universal and continuous and these tests are almost never applied to the private undertaking. Her plan was for coöperation in the sense that private resources, pecuniary and human, were placed at the disposal of the public authority under conditions agreed upon by the two. That is, the Abraham Lincoln School is one of the public schools of Lexington under the Board of Education. It is, however, much more because of the constant coöperative association of the Civic League in its work.

It should perhaps have been pointed out that her work during the period intervening between this first public undertaking and the Thanksgiving Day of 1920, when the curtain fell on the drama of her effort, fell naturally into four sections, closely related but distinguishable the one from the other. The first of these was the effort in behalf of the Lincoln School enterprise and its corollary, the development of legislative protection for children whose needs were like those of the Lincoln School children. This included drafting and pushing Juvenile Court, Child Labor and Compulsory Attendance laws for cities of the class to which Lexington belonged, if similar laws could not be obtained for all the children of Kentucky; it meant campaigning throughout the whole state in behalf of these measures, and laboring to secure the election of public officials who would enact and enforce and administer these laws in the spirit in which they were urged upon the people of the state. It meant persuading the ablest and most devoted persons to stand for election, and working generously but frankly and persistently with those who were placed in these offices that were of much significance to her.

A second cause to which she gave in unstinted measure was that of sound family welfare work. She was not a college graduate. Her father, undoubtedly with her full consent and agreement, had thought that the loss of four years from the community she loved and meant to serve would mean in loosened ties and slackened interest greater loss than could be compensated for by the severe discipline of the college course. She was for a time a student in what is now

Kentucky University, (the A. and M. College, it was then called,) and went for two happy years to Farmington, Connecticut. One of the friends of that association was a volunteer worker for the New York Charity Organization Society. With her friend she attended lectures on family care, and became greatly interested in the principles of the charity organization movement, indeed thoroughly converted to those principles. She was ever after that an adherent of the most devout and unflinching sort to the doctrine of sound case-work. And when, in February, 1900, at a time of great unemployment and distress, the mayor asked the charitable ladies of the city to take over the distribution of the city's outdoor relief, she was prepared to coöperate in developing a plan which would offer every applicant individual and, to an extent, skilled service. In this plan, there was again an attempt at coöperation between public authorities and private agencies of the kind she believed in and was willing to undertake.

As the situation developed, the Associated Charities took on likeness to the usual private society subsidized from public funds. It has never been quite that, however; it was rather a private organization delegated to do certain tasks for the city and county, for which the administrative authorities of those jurisdictions provided the resources. The task, the responsibility, and the authority were definite and the methods to be applied likewise agreed upon, namely those of sound and thorough case-work. There could be no doubt on any of these points. This meant continuous education and re-education of the city and county officials and of her associates as well. And, sometimes, this was a difficult and thankless task. One year, for example an organization, not dominated by these principles of case-work, an organization that neither investigated before attempting to give treatment nor gave frank and full accounts of its stewardship, asked to be and was included by the city among the agencies authorized to perform certain functions in the field of public relief. This she would not endure, and, single-handed, as a tax-payer, she sought and obtained an injunction against the payment by the city to the recalcitrant organization.

The third field of conspicuous effort on her part was in the field of public health, and grew especially out of her own experience in suffering and lessened physical power. Shortly after her return from school she had been the victim of an accident which seemed at first to be followed by no serious consequences but resulted later in serious physical limitation that necessitated her spending several winters in the south or west and held its threatening hand always before her. The winter of 1903-4, she spent in a sanatorium in Denver and while there she informed herself concerning the waste, economic, social, and above all human, connected with the inadequate provision for the early care and treatment of victims of tuberculosis. She had been interested in the medical aspects of the problem through her study of her grandfather's writings, and she now became deeply concerned for its social and governmental aspects as well. On her return from Denver, then, she associated with herself those members of the community most concerned for public health matters and most intelligent with reference to the care and treatment of this particular disease. Out of this organization grew an association now known as the Public Health Nursing Association and an organization concerned for the establishment of a county sanatorium. There also resulted from these activities the passage of a bill creating a State Tuberculosis Commission, of which she was a member for four years, when she resigned because of partisan political interference on the part of the governor. The commission has since that time been placed as a permanent division of the work of the State Department of Health, the principles for which she fought have been recognized in connection with the establishment of state sanatoria, and the Blue Grass Sanatorium, like the Lincoln School, stands and, above all, serves by way of cure and treatment for the sick of the city and county in which she lived in perpetual reminder of the devotion she felt to principles enunciated over a half century before by her grandfather, worked out by her for the most helpless members of the community.

A fourth effort to which she devoted her time and strength was the "Votes for Women" movement or the "Suffrage Cause," as it used to be called. It was inevitable that she should be an

ardent suffragist, witnessing as she daily witnessed, the neglect of causes for which women have tacitly assumed and acknowledged responsibility, even when not demanding the power with which competently to deal with that responsibility. She could obtain the assistance of the most politically influential men; but they, while they found it not too difficult to put through measures, socially important or socially disastrous in which large groups of men or special interests were concerned, found themselves strangely impotent when they undertook to push the measures for which the women asked. It was not that the public mind had not been prepared; the mind of only half the public, to speak roughly and yet with essential regard for the fact, felt concerned. From the time at which the census figures of 1900, published only several years later, made known the pitiful condition of Kentucky's population in the matter of illiteracy, (Kentucky was fourth from the bottom of the list of commonwealths in order of the literacy of their population,) she had expended great energy as member or chairman of one of the divisions of the State Federation of Women's Clubs whose responsibility it was to secure legislation with reference to the school system and to arouse interest in that system. She therefore read the school laws of other states, studied the problems of school finance, and familiarized herself with the devices invented in other commonwealths for dealing with the rural as well as with the city school system. She consulted the most skilled draftsman, and attempted to secure for Kentucky the laws that seemed most likely to meet the needs of Kentucky's people. She learned, however, by sad and repeated experience, what theory told her in advance, that political effort without political power is apt to be fruitless. And, so, eventually, she turned largely, though never exclusively, to the suffrage fight.

She became in 1912, president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, was called on to write for the monumental *History of Woman's Suffrage*, the account of the movement in Kentucky after 1900, and she succeeded in obtaining from the Kentucky legislature unprecedented action on the opening day of the session of 1920 ratifying the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, so that Kentucky was one of the

early states to go on record in favor of this grant of power to the women of the state.¹

In connection with her suffrage work it is perhaps necessary to make only two points here. First, she had a great sense of the importance of the work in the states. She had learned by her legislative work in the most remote and isolated portions of Kentucky the value when decisions were being framed at the capital, of public opinion "back in the district." She was therefore never sympathetic with a policy that devoted exclusive attention to Washington. She had, however, a thoroughly national mind. She believed the political status of women in any state to be of concern to the people in all the states, and she therefore, from conviction, fostered and supported in every way the effort to secure the amendment to the constitution of the United States. The other point is that the suffrage was always to her chiefly an instrument with which was to be carved out a nobler commonwealth. She was therefore never willing to sterilize the movement for the sake of obtaining the vote at a little earlier date. She would make no compromises for the sake of success in this movement that would jeopardize those other movements for which she was so concerned. She had at times to withdraw from executive positions, or to declare herself in ways that were dangerously frank, lest she be later apparently committed to concessions she would never consent to make. She served on the Executive Board of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association during the year 1914, that is from December 1913 until the spring of 1915, and resigned lest there be some such question of her position as has been referred to. She received national recognition in various ways. She addressed the National Association, in this field, just as she appeared before the National Conference of Social Work, or the National Playground Association or served on the National Board of the General Federation of Women's Clubs (1910 can only refer. She never forgot, she never neglected. The simple tribute of the poet,

1912), and she traveled from one end of the country to the other, when she was able and she felt that she could serve the cause.

There is in fact no way in which one can portray the effort she put forth for these causes that seemed to her so important. Reference has been made to the fact that from about 1893 her health was precarious. Yet any estimate of the traveling she did, the speeches she made, the correspondence she carried on, the organization she perfected, would appear such an exaggeration as to seem only incredible. The call would take her suddenly into distant "campaign states" where for considerable periods of time she would speak under the most untoward conditions, possibly several times a day at different places, traveling from place to place in any available conveyance.

When the federal amendment was ratified, she turned eagerly to the plans for the League of Women Voters and to the aspirations of women of other lands, and in the summer of 1920, she went as a delegate to the meeting of the International Suffrage Alliance at Geneva.

It has been said that she had a national mind. She had the international mind as well. She was not a Pacifist, although a devoted admirer of Miss Addams to whom she always turned for help and never without the most generous and sympathetic response. But her father had been an officer in the Union army and, while her mother's brothers had divided on the great issues of the Civil war, her childhood was not overwhelmed with the memories of a "Lost Cause" nor had her soul been eaten into by the bitter sense of the futility of all war. But she longed for peace and she believed in law and in the rule of good-will. She therefore became an ardent advocate of the League of Nations and to that end supported the democratic presidential ticket in 1920. Her last public effort was devoted to two weeks of incredibly arduous campaigning in Missouri in behalf of that program.

In the preceding paragraphs, little has been said of her private life. And yet it should be made clear that all these activities to which so much space has been given were those of a woman whose chief business was that of a devoted wife, daughter and friend. To those relationships one

¹ Attention may be called to the fact that Kentucky early recognized the principle of women's votes. In 1838, widows with children in school were granted the right to vote on school questions.

"She doth little kindnesses
That most leave undone or despise.
For naught that sets one's heart at ease,
Or giveth happiness or peace
Is low-esteemed in her eyes."

might well have been written of her. She has been called a great citizen, and she was that. But a review of her twenty-one years of rich service takes the mind back to the ardor of the early Charity Organizationists for the *Volunteer*. And she was an example of what the great volunteer could be. It was not only that she was not paid; sometimes, in fact, she took payment for her speeches. She did not want to underbid, and she was always begging and "raising" money for some of her causes. But she was under no compulsion other than that of a great idea of her responsibility and of her opportunity. Moreover, the peculiar values of the service of the volunteer are (1) that they represent the normal instead of the pathological; (2) and there is no measure or standard by which they can be judged except the principles of sound work. The professional worker must inevitably have in mind a day's work, that is an item in a week's work, that makes up a part of a year's total. The volunteer need do no tomorrow's work *until today's work is done as it should be done*. There may be therefore characteristic of the volunteer's product, a freshness and a brilliancy and, often, a

completeness, not always found in the work of the most skilful professional, and sadly rare under the conditions of under-preparation, over-work and under-pay so often characteristic of the conditions under which social work is carried on.

These features characterized her work in all its aspects. No labor was too great, no effort too arduous, no detail too insignificant. She was humble-minded in her willingness to sit at the feet of any from whom she hoped for a clew. No instrument was too insignificant to experiment with. She felt no self-consciousness, she sought no publicity for herself, she shrank from no publicity that might serve her cause. She lived in the face of a great purpose and, with all the effort, there was a great serenity as there always was a great simplicity and a swift gaiety.

It is always difficult to write of her, for one is conscious of the skill and delicacy with which she would have been able to do the task. She had a great love for the *word* whether written or spoken, and delighted in skilful selection and fine discrimination. On the other hand, the rudest hand cannot greatly mar the beauty of so great and free a service. And it is always an enriching experience to recall that in the associations and memories and institutions and activities that abide, her life is worked into the very warp and woof of her state, her section, and her nation.

Among the many annual meetings of women's organizations held in October and November are numerous State Federated Clubs, League of Women Voters, State Nurses' associations and others in a score of states. Of their special contributions to The JOURNAL's field later notes will tell.

The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

Editorial Notes

An Attainable Rural Standard

"To make the country home and community representative of the best that our national civilization can produce" was deemed an attainable objective by *The JOURNAL* in its first announcement of its policies and programs a year ago. Another phrase employed in its discussion of this department of *The JOURNAL's* work suggested "The rural community a bulwark of national power." The statement continued: "*The JOURNAL* will attempt to contribute something to this objective, and its ideals will include those of careful study and practical application. There is yet great limitation to provincial programs, set up from purely academic and urban areas. There are needed adapting and adaptable efforts and greater coöperation from the home areas." This number of *The JOURNAL* is offered as a continuation of the ideals thus set forth, and supplementing the varied papers that have already been presented in the first year's number of this magazine. This first number of Volume II, happily featuring certain aspects of rural social concern, is also offered as a renewal of the judgment expressed in the very first paragraph of a year ago: "*The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES* will be judged, not by its own statement of programs and policies, but by the quality of its contributions and the standard of excellence which it maintains in a distinctive field in which its efforts are needed."

* * *

The Country-Life Movement

That the objective to make the country home and family, the country community and association, representative of the best that America can produce ought to be an attainable one seems sufficiently clear. That it is nowhere fully attained seems equally clear. The standard set might be illustrated or tested in a hypothetical way if a visitor to our shores, from some distant nation, or perhaps a distant planet, upon returning to his

native heath should be asked: "Where did you find in America that home and family life, that community and association so perfected and in practice as to represent the best product of American social civilization?" Would he reply in rural America? In the further discussion of country life problems in the first announcement above referred to, the question was raised as to why, if the country life problem is the most important in all our American life, it has been so naturally and sadly neglected. The reply was "simply because." By this was meant simply that it has been allowed to go on its way in the natural process of undirected evolution in the midst of undreamed of expansion and industrial revolution, without adequate directive processes of social control. This does not mean that, in recent years, the country life movement has not been a most important factor. It has been indeed so marked that many have predicted that it would redirect much of the influences of our whole national life as they relate to the problems of country life and city-ward drift. So timely has the movement appeared that scores of organizations, institutions, individuals, and clubs throughout the country have set themselves to the task of study and work in the rural field. The nation, the church, the university and college, civic organizations, learned societies, women's clubs, commercial clubs, country folk, city folk alike vie with each other in their efforts to contribute to the movement. Not all of the efforts, of course, have been effective, but for the most part they have been constructive efforts having as their objective the organic improvement of country life.

* * *

Rural Social Change

It is not the purpose of these notes to discuss the general aspects of country life. That is done well in many of the articles in this number of *The JOURNAL*. It is desired, however, to continue the editorial discussion of the last number, but with a different angle to the theme, and with the emphasis almost entirely upon the rural aspects. In that discussion, entitled "The Transfer of Leadership" the question was raised as to whether in our social and educational methods and processes we were keeping the training and development of leaders abreast of the great social changes now

everywhere manifest. The query was applied to social institutions as well as individual leaders. These queries arose as a result of certain studies in political and social leadership now being planned for special application to certain southern states. Now, at the risk of emphasizing a commonplace, but one that is nevertheless fundamental, the inquiry is made as to whether in the rapid change from rural and agricultural to urban and industrial America we are sure of our modern equivalents for the early pioneer spirit and forces of a rural people. The question applies, of course, not only to the problem of finding suitable equivalents for a people and a time of urban and industrial tendencies, but also to the problem of making an adequate substitute in country life itself commensurate with the newer demands for equality of opportunity. For, in *The JOURNAL's* stated objective of "making democracy effective in the unequal places," it has found the open country one of the chiefest of unequal places to which democratic programs must needs be applied more effectively.

* * *

Modern Equivalents

In his discussion of Art in relation to country life in this issue of *The JOURNAL*, Dr. Galpin has pointed out, with clearness and fine discrimination, the task of producing a modern equivalent of the "hoe age" in the realm of art. The hoe age is gone in all reality; in its place has come a new type of agricultural process which must needs now have its counterpart in art. What will be the modern equivalent and can Art measure up to its task? In this same issue Professor White, discussing the city-ward drift of population, points out the fact that under changing conditions it is meet and right that large portions of the population should go to the cities. What then are the tasks which face this industrial and urban civilization to develop modern equivalents for the old rural life and ideals? What are the tasks of the new rural life to develop its modern equivalents of the old? The old which, as Professor White points, often did not live up to its reputed qualities but which nevertheless constituted the very fabric of earlier American life. Here in the South thousands of the country folk have moved into the mill villages where conditions, no matter how favorable or unfavorable, are

nevertheless about as nearly opposite to the original freedom and struggle of country life as could be. What will be their modern equivalent for the pioneer experience? Has this anything of interest to the builders of industrial communities? These are but simple typical inquiries that arise because of the change in the rural life situation and suggest many queries at once both interesting and stimulating and suitable subjects for study.

* * *

The Country-Life Influence

Not that the early rural standards and country life were ever adequate or satisfying. There were limitations enough, to be sure. In this brief discussion there is no thought simply of venerating the past or of calling back "the old days." On the contrary the deficiencies of the past are recognized alongside the absolute necessity for the change to the present and future. The old country life is gone; in its stead is the new country life to-be on the one hand, and on the other the newer urban and industrial substitutes. And whatever may be said about the limitations or glories of the earlier country life pioneering in American civilization, in the fabric of our national make-up, as well as in the ideals and structure of any great nation, country life and the earlier pioneering days have, and must necessarily become a distinctly important part. Past deficiencies do not alter the fact that the character of our institutions and civilization has been conditioned largely by the early pioneering ideals, standards, and practices of a rural people. So much is merely historical statement. The deficiencies of a Western pioneering rural life, for instance, do not change the fact of its part in the development of the character of a Theodore Roosevelt; or of the vital influences upon the life and letters of our literary folk. Likewise, Dr. Branson points out, in his delightful stories concerning the rural folk of Germany and Denmark, how the farmer land-and home-owners constitute a great stabilizing factor in the economic and political life of a nation. How shall this equivalent be worked out for the urban and industrial society which is transcending the rural? Other similar qualities of the older country life which have contributed to the stronger points of American character would prove equally interesting; and incidentally almost limitless.

Among Literary Folk

An illustration of a different sort will be found in the background of present day writers, as well as those of former generations. In the life of a dozen authors whose works are now popular, taken at random, the great out-of-doors or country pioneering appear as the background, either upon which they have builded themselves or upon which their distinctive work is based. Of one writer "her preliminary schooling was that of contact with the raw life of a newly settled and cultivated land, participating in the work of the farm . . . next to the soil, the deep black of river bottoms, the pale sandy tilth of the uplands, and the red clays . . ." And later, "I have never found any intellectual excitement more intense than I used to feel when I spent a morning with one of these pioneer women at her baking or butter-making . . ." Or another: "He knew the roughest work of the mountain farms, fished in glacial lakes, trudged miles to a poor village school." Or another, born in the backwoods "did the chores, sawed wood . . . chopped cordwood in the forest to get money for books and clothing." Of the parents of another: "They were pioneers—the unafraid—those who felled trees, broke the soil, fought the Indians—they who begot a new race of hard working, God-fearing human beings." And so for scores of similar typical statements of dominant influence in the making of not only a literature of past generations but of the present as well.

* * *

The Fabric of the Past

The pleasures and picturesque aspects of country life do not constitute a new theme. They are by nature and nurture and evolution interwoven in the fabric of our personalities and society. Nature and the soil; flocks and grain; mother earth and the starry heavens have been the inspiration for best efforts in literature and labor for long ages. Typical are the ancient influences and references, through the times when Virgil, himself a farmer's boy, sang of nature as through a golden dream; and Horace for his contemporaries boosted the "back-to-the-farm" movement with lyrics of power and appeal, continuously through all the times to the present, when our

literature, our morality, and our philosophy are all enriched by contact with nature and rural life. Similar is the influence upon national life and character; upon personal character and conduct; upon the institutions of civilizations; and upon scores of specific concepts such as those of property, wealth and health. External variations have always been existent. In more recent days the practical outgrowths have manifested themselves in suburban home movements, in the tendency toward the gentlemen's country estate, and in the appeal made to city life on behalf of the call of the wild. It is only necessary to refer to these as typical of the large hold which the pleasures of country life have upon us. But these aspects, however, important and attractive they may be, and however much of character they may reveal, are but superficial forms of expression and offer but limited new equivalents.

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Pioneer Hardihood

One would fain linger over the pictures of early days, not only with something of the picturesque idealism natural to those who look on from afar off, but with the realization that here was realism of the sternest sort alongside idealism of great power. Sturdy groups of large families; fighting for survival and dominance in the midst of nature and personal enemies; knowing not the fear of softness and cowardice, yet always in the midst of a gnawing fear of providence and the unknown; having a great unexpressed and silent faith in the midst of wonder and reverence; taking as a matter of fact great handicaps, constant sufferings, poignant grief, silent and heroic people enduring stolidly as an everyday experience those things which would now cause great commotion and apprehension, as indeed they should; creators of rough hewn progress, developers of unconscious initiative. Or again, an adequate folk developing a society where poetry and politics could go together with the editing of the country newspaper; or the country doctor of composite virtues; or the circuit rider, maker of civilization. Of the characteristic life and labor of the early pioneer country folk there is no end of rich heritage as "across the fields the neighbors go, their lanterns swinging to and fro . . . In all hearts a high faith glows."

Contrasts and Equivalents

Of contrasts in the present and equivalents for the future much remains to be seen. For the hardy race which seemed to develop its strength through hardship on mountain crag or shores of sand do we now have a sort of a swift race developing its softness through speeding joys and lessening work? For America, the beautiful, with her rocks and rills, woods and temple hills, is there growing up the great aversion to actual contacts with life and labor, or with the glory of living in the open country or the pedestrian process of walking; with the personal limit not more than one-fourth of one mile, lest all strength flee this mortal body! For the reverence and wonder of the youthful spirit in contemplation of nature and the frontier the great inventions and march of science brings forth from the modern small boy the simple and sincere query "Well, what of it," or from the youthful girl the weary sigh that "anything this side of New York bores me." Over against these, on the other hand, are the great equivalents in the country regions of better education, better health, better homes and conveniences, better transportation, the promise of a long and full life; while in the cities are the same enlarged opportunities with still the query as to what may be the spiritual equivalents yet to come. Something of the same sort of inquiry or critical attitude will be evoked by the ultra modern provincialism of the largest urban groups or the extremely artificial atmosphere and standards of an urban intellectualized aristocracy, on the one hand, or the tense environment of the melting pot, on the other. Is the modern equivalent for nature and rough adventure to be found in the violation of law through prohibition outlawry or ku-klux klannery?

* * *

The Rural Unequal Places

Turning again to the matter of rural equivalents, in any consideration of modern substitutes there must, of course, be taken into account modern change in the relative situations of rural and urban areas. Time was when isolation, limited school facilities, poor home equipment and lack of medical care, were the common lot, and therefore not representative of fundamental inequalities. This is not the case now. Because of the

greater opportunities now afforded the majority of the population in industrial and urban areas, these rural limitations now represent actual inequality of opportunity and violate the very elemental principles of democracy. It is true that in the old days there were few facilities for child caring, for instance, in the rural areas; but where this is still true today, there is the single city with more than four hundred child caring agencies to look after the welfare of those in the domain of its service, while the children of isolated areas in the open country remain as of yore. Not only that but the old country doctor is no more; many of the country churches, their membership drained by the town-ward drift, no longer serve as a great socially satisfying agency. And so for other factors. It is significant that this 1923 meeting of the American Country Life Association is devoting its energies to a newer sort of search after the desired country life equivalents.

* * *

A Composite Inquiry

Enough has been said to illustrate the main inquiry of the November JOURNAL notes. The inquiry, of course, has larger implications in the realm of future national policies and in the realm of social and moral philosophy. President Hopkins of Dartmouth College points out the fact that "Herein we approach from one angle the problem which more than any other requires solution in these days of unrest and uncertainty—how to preserve to the needs of civilization the initiative and vigor and originality of individualism in conjunction with the responsibilities and necessities of associationalism." The call of the larger creative voice away from Mr. Babbitt and standardized homes, and streets, and thoughts, and programs, to the real American initiative is a part of the inquiry. The challenge of Joseph K. Hart's call to make America safe for adventure is a part of the inquiry. Likewise, it is closely related to the whole question of the "greater societal variables, and their products," discussed by Professor Giddings in the May JOURNAL. The inquiry is, of course, not new. It was old in the days of the agrarian problems of Rome. But it is timely enough to constitute a suitable challenge for further study and interpretation by all those whose lot falls in the realm of the social sciences.

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BOOKS ON RURAL LIFE

A SUMMARY OF RECENT TENDENCIES

H. N. MORSE

THE RECENT output of rural life books accurately reflects the trend of current interest and discussion. As an academic and professional interest Rural Life is still an infant, albeit a lusty one. It is hardly a decade since attention began to be focused in any serious way upon the social problems of the country. At the outset the student was handicapped by the fact that while almost everyone professed to know all about the country, the body of reliable data about actual rural conditions was meagre in the extreme. Many of the earliest books in this field were essays in what one might call "intuitive sociology." Since then rural sociology has exchanged its amateur for a professional rating. It has acquired a technique and a vocabulary with nice discriminations in terminology. Intelligent research is undergirding its theories with facts.

The more recent books are less concerned with "the rural problem" than their predecessors and more concerned with particular aspects of rural life. Questions of social and institutional technique are given larger place. There is a more thorough-going application of the methods of scientific research and analysis. They are, as a rule, more limited and specific in purpose and conclusion.

Among the books published during the last two years there are at least fifty that should be mentioned if space permitted. Many of these are of first rate importance. These may be grouped, for purposes of discussion, under six heads. The first and largest group comprises books giving the results of surveys and various research projects. The biggest producer in this field has been the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys (370 Seventh Ave., New York). This committee,

organized to salvage some of the incompleting survey results of the Interchurch World Movement, undertook first an intensive survey of 26 widely scattered counties. An analysis was also made of the extensive rural data in the interchurch files. These studies feature the church but consider it against the background of social and economic conditions. The first series contains twelve volumes. Three of them are individual county reports; seven of them are regional studies, each summarizing the results for two or more counties; two, not yet off the press, summarize statistical material for 179 counties. These books are not so much sociology as the material for sociology. Rural United States embraces an endless variety of conditions. Undoubtedly there is a great service to be performed just in the assembling of reliable data, an even greater service in analyzing out the distinctive differences in conditions as these appear from region to region.

A second project of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys was the study of fifty of the most successful rural churches in the United States. The results are given in *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country* and *Tested Methods in Town and Country Churches*. These are about the most valuable handbooks for the rural church worker that have yet appeared. They are, in addition, excellent sociological material. Mention might be made also of a detailed study of the American Indians (largely a rural people), published under the title *The Red Man in the United States*. Doran is the committee's publisher.

Liberty H. Bailey is the editor of the *Rural State and Province Series* published by Macmillan. Three volumes have so far appeared, on

New York, Michigan and California. The aim of this series is "to present the rural phase of the development of the commonwealths, with so much of the physical setting and history as will make plain the reason for the existing state of the agriculture and country life." Each book presents a wealth of varied and valuable material not otherwise easily accessible.

The National Child Labor Committee performed a much needed service when it carried through the inquiry which is reported in *Rural Child Welfare* (Macmillan). This is a close-up study of the children of 657 families in 11 communities in West Virginia. The challenge of the rural child was never so clear as in the face of these piled-up actualities. More extended surveys in this field in other areas are urgently needed.

Other surveys which have not yet gotten into book form have given us pamphlets of more than ordinary importance. Three at least should be mentioned: the study of the Southern tenant farmer made by Prof. E. C. Branson and his associates, Prof. J. H. Kolb's study of rural primary groups in Dane county, Wis., and Miss Emily F. Hoag's study of *The National Influence of a Single Farm Community*.

The second main group comprises three books on the general aspects of rural sociology. Prof. J. M. Gillette, in 1913, published the first text book on rural sociology. Like most pioneer books, its limitations were obvious. Yet it filled a real need. His *Rural Sociology* (Macmillan) is presented as an entirely new book which aims to be "factual, representative, comprehensive, interpretative, and suggestive of improvement, where advisable." Although not, in our opinion, a book of real distinction, it combines a breadth of view and a soundness of social analysis with a wealth of statistical and descriptive and historical material in a way that no other book in this field matches.

Dr. Paul L. Vogt first published his *Introduction to Rural Sociology* (Appleton) in 1917. The revised edition, brought up to date and somewhat enlarged, was issued last year. This book supplements, rather than supplants, Gillette's. It is not so encyclopedic and not so fundamental in its social analysis. But its focus is sharper. Its significant conclusions, sufficiently bolstered with

fact and argument, are more clearly and convincingly stated. It is dynamic where the other is merely descriptive.

Dr. Warren H. Wilson's *Evolution of a Country Community* (Pilgrim Press) has a different purpose than these two. It is not a text book as they are. In its earlier form it was practically the first book to undertake a general sociological analysis of the underlying factors of country life. In its revised form it is still one of the most stimulating and worth-while books in this field.

The third main group consists of books on the rural community—its nature, organizations and problems. It is in connection with this subject that we see the most significant recent change in the trend of rural life discussions. Most of the earlier books quite failed to recognize the community. If they spoke of it at all, it was with a vagueness and looseness of terminology that defied exact definition. Even yet it would be hard to get general agreement on a definition of "community." But some excellent work has been done both in definition and description. Perhaps the best recent example is Prof. Dwight Sander-son's *The Farmer and His Community* (Harcourt, Brace and Co.). This is the most satisfactory exposition of what might be loosely termed the trade-area theory of the community. It is clear, non-technical and, so far as our present knowledge goes, adequate. Not so much, indeed, not near so much can be said for two other books on this theme, A. W. Hayes' *Rural Community Organization* (Univ. of Chicago Press) and Llewellyn MacGarr's *The Rural Community* (Macmillan Co.).

Two interesting books on organization are *Organizing the Community* by B. A. McClenahan (Century Co.) and *Rural Organization* by Walter Burr (Macmillan). Miss McClenahan writes for the social worker. Her theme is how to survey a community and how to organize it to carry on the various forms of welfare activities. The discussion seems to carry the rather naive conception that when you organize a community you are, ipso facto, conferring a blessing upon it. Mr. Burr gives us a rather mechanistic conception of country life. He gives us excellent advice as to how to organize to carry on particular sorts of projects. This is really a treatise in social mechanics.

In the fourth main group we may include books on a variety of social and institutional themes. For example there is Professor Ernest R. Groves' *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare* (Univ. of Chicago Press). This is an application of modern, very modern, psychology to the analysis of the questions of rural social welfare. We fear the ordinary farmer is too unsophisticated to appreciate just what sort of a mind he has. This is an interesting and, we think, significant effort, even though Professor Groves' rural world has a rather exclusively Back Bay flavor.

Space is lacking even to name the many excellent books and pamphlets which are appearing in the field of recreation, dramatics, community music, pageantry, etc. Many will be interested in *The Little Country Theatre* (Macmillan) by Prof. Alfred G. Arvold which tells, in simple, conversational style, the story of the Little Country Theatre at North Dakota Agricultural College. A book like *The Country Newspaper* (A. C. McClurg & Co.) by Millard Van M. Atwood opens up a field on which comparatively little has been written. If you have any curiosity as to where the Buzztown Bugle gets its patent insides or any doubt as to whether it warrants the use of so much good print paper, you may find enlightenment here.

The fifth main group includes books on general economic questions (not including books on technical agricultural processes). Marketing and co-operation have been receiving a great deal of attention. The farmer's marketing troubles have made the front page of the metropolitan dailies with remarkable frequency of late. Public interest in this subject is greater and more wide spread than ever before. There is increasing recognition that economic welfare is basic to progress. The seriousness of the farmer's economic problems is increasingly apparent. The books in this field are, therefore, timely. Among those worthy of particular attention the following may be named: *Efficient Marketing for Agriculture* (Macmillan), by Theodore Macklin; *Marketing Agricultural Products* (Appleton & Co.), by Benjamin Hibbard; *The Modern Farm Coöperative Movement* (The Homestead Co.), by Chelsa C. Sherlock; *Coöperative Marketing* (Doubleday, Page & Co.), by Herman Steen; *Pacemakers in*

Farmers' Coöperation (Home Lands), by Benson Y. Landis; *The Farm Bureau Movement* (Macmillan), by O. M. Kile; *The County Agent and the Farm Bureau* (Harcourt, Brace & Co.), by M. C. Burritt, and *The Agricultural Bloc* (Harcourt, Brace & Co.), by Senator Arthur Capper.

The final group has to do with the rural church. The church figures, to a greater or less degree, in many of the books previously mentioned. In addition there are a number of new books dealing specifically with the organization and operation of the rural church. Two books on the country Sunday School are unique in their way: *The Sunday School at Work in Town and Country* (Doran), by W. M. Brabham and *Building a Country Sunday School* (Revell), by E. L. Middleton. Mr. A. C. Zumbunnen's *The Community Church* (Univ. of Chicago Press) is a discussion, none too adequate, of religious unity. *Biblical Backgrounds for the Rural Message* (Association Press), by E. L. Earp is an attempt to provide Biblical sanction for country life propaganda. *The Life of John Frederick Oberlin* (Pilgrim Press), by A. F. Beard was given a new edition last year. This is still the rural minister's classic, the best picture in English of the opportunities and ideals of the rural ministry.

Thus we see that if the volume of writing on a subject may fairly be taken as a measure of the degree of public and professional interest in it, we are safe in assuming that writing and reading America is at last fully awake to the importance of its rural life and institutions.

THE HOBO. THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE HOMELESS MAN.
By Nels Anderson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923. Pp. 302.

This noteworthy volume marks a step forward in the investigation of urban community problems. The prevailing type of study in this field has usually followed the statistical method and has had a tendency to reflect the point of view of the investigator instead of presenting a vivid picture of the participants in the human drama of city life. In this volume we see the homeless man as he really is, enjoying metropolitan life on the "Main Stem," solving the problems of existence in the "Jungle," working intermittently at casual jobs which are attractive because of their temporary character, and beating his way on

trains urged on by an incurable restlessness that condemns him to the life of a wanderer.

The method of investigation consisted largely in the collection of life histories. The author, who is a graduate student at the University of Chicago, has had considerable experience as a casual laborer and while he was securing his material lived for a year in the hobohemia of Chicago. By thus participating in the life of the hoboes the author gained a real insight into their problems and was able to interpret with great accuracy their point of view. The reasons why men leave home are attributed to seasonal work and unemployment, industrial inadequacy, defects of personality, crises in the life of the person, racial or national discrimination, and wanderlust. In his discussion of defects of personality, the author brings together the conclusions of psychopathologists which indicate that the hobo type, if not primarily psychopathic, is at least characterized by emotional instability and egocentricity. It is unfortunate that it did not fall within the author's plan to supplement this intimate, personal study of the hobo with a psychological study of a sufficient number of typical cases to throw further light on the place that personality defects occupy in creating the hobo type.

The book contains an appendix which gives a summary of findings and recommendations prepared on the basis of the facts set forth in the book by the committee on homeless men of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, under whose auspices the investigation was made and the volume written.

JESSE F. STEINER.

THE RURAL MIND AND SOCIAL WELFARE. By Ernest R. Groves. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922. Pp. 205.

This book is an attempt to analyze the social experiences of country people for the purpose of giving a better understanding of the problems involved in rural social organization. The author's emphasis is upon psychological factors and the key to his interpretation of rural life is found in his discussion of the varying role of instinct in country and city environments. After the introductory chapters the book turns to a consideration of such instincts as gregariousness, self-assertion, sex, fear, pugnacity, curiosity,

workmanship, acquisition, and play, and endeavors to show how these fundamental traits, common to all people, are acted upon by the peculiar conditions of country life and build up what the author calls the rural mind. The author seems to accept uncritically the prevailing view of instincts as set forth by such writers as McDougall and Trotter, and except in a few bibliographical references gives no evidence of being aware of the recent controversy concerning the nature of instincts and their proper place in the interpretation of social phenomena. In fact, this book must take its place along with other similar excursions into the field of social psychology, as for example, Taussig's *Inventors and Money Makers*, Tead's *Instincts in Industry*, and Parker's *Motives in Economic Life*, all of which are interesting and suggestive but seem to represent a misuse and over-emphasis of instinct in the explanation of social and economic facts. Nevertheless Professor Groves has produced a very stimulating book full of common sense observations and keen insight into the state of mind of rural people and it ought to prove of real value to rural life leaders whether ministers, teachers, or social workers.

JESSE F. STEINER.

THREE CENTURIES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By Professor William MacDonald. Henry Holt & Co. \$2.25. Pp. 345. 1923.

History for social workers is broadly the same as that for historians. The trained historian is more particularly interested in exploiting all the factors in a detailed development of special periods, while the sociologists are concerned especially with the conclusions that may legitimately be drawn from a broad survey. Recent literature is full of discussion respecting the relative merits and problems of the various social studies. There is doubtless some value to this attempt to make a division of labor since the field is so vast, but it is the writer's conviction that acceptance of any arbitrary delimitation unnecessarily limits our freedom of thought.

It goes without saying that whatever may be the worker's chief interest he is bound to give acknowledgement to the achievements of workers in other fields. The historian is the one especially competent to write history, to assess the strength of social forces, to weigh contradictory evidence

and to give an accurate and truthful picture of the past. Professor MacDonald has attempted to write for that "very large number of persons who want to know the main facts and the formative influences in the growth of the United States, but who nevertheless have no time to read the elaborate narratives or to study a series of books on special periods or topics." Both Roosevelt and Wilson protested against the investigatorial accumulation of history without perspective. This volume is not a text book, nor is it a book for beginners. He has grouped the story under eleven headings and whatever may be said of the organization the comment is stimulating. Though very condensed he has succeeded in maintaining interest throughout. He has made a valuable correlation of history and politics. The chapter on "Framing a National Constitution" is important. He points out that there wasn't much democracy at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. The government was shaped in deference to the "underlying fear which a majority of the convention felt of too great popular control. No state as yet had universal manhood suffrage, and the connection between voting and property holding was everywhere recognized as one rightly to be maintained. The system of so-called 'checks and balances' which set the Senate over against the House of Representatives, the executive against the Congress, and the states against the federal government, while primarily intended to preserve the states" and the integrity of the several government departments resulted in numerous deadlocks. Political parties came into existence partly to compel government coöperation since the officials of the whole party must secure popular vindication.

More significant than any event was the recent world war. His discussion of "America and a New World" contains several points of emphasis which deserve careful reflection. The real problem of our international relations is stated as finding out in a clear and convincing way "how the greatest, richest, best organized, and most powerful democracy in the world could preserve its historical independence of action and at the same time serve with all its force the cause of peace. Once that question could be answered the resources of the nation would again be at the service of mankind." Much of the discussion has

served only to cloud the issue. The clarification of this issue is the most necessary task of political education.

What is the real significance of American history? A group of recent writers have found the chief meaning in the economic development and in a modified form of economic determinism. Professor MacDonald is convinced that this is a mistaken emphasis. "The history of American democracy is only in a special and limited sense a story of material growth. The subjugation of nature to the service of man has been upon a continental scale and the physical fruits of conquest have been varied and large," but the more striking incidents have been, "the establishment of an eight-hour day, payment of wages in money, the regulation of the labor of women and children, factory and tenement house inspection and improved building laws, the abolition of the sweatshop, industrial insurance, stricter regulation of railway transportation, old age pensions, the abatement of immigration abuses, improved municipal sanitation, federal control of health and epidemic diseases, city planning, open spaces and playgrounds, the extirpation of commercialized vice, rigorous supervision of the liquor traffic clearly foreshadowing ultimate prohibition (in fact as well as law), free and compulsory education for the masses and state-supported education in universities and professional schools, and a scientific and humanitarian treatment of poverty, crime, and delinquency" illustrate "a crusade which made social service a passion and broadened the foundations of national happiness." It is that vast accumulation of human purposes and human ideals that makes American history significant. This, the reviewer submits, is valid history for sociologists.

GUY V. PRICE.

THE SOCIAL TREND. By Edward A. Ross. New York: The Century Co. Price \$1.75.

Anything from the pen of Dr. Ross challenges attention. This little book especially so. It is suggestive, thought-provoking. Made up of a selection of articles from current magazines, and lectures delivered on various occasions, it has a series of widely diverging appeals.

In the preface Dr. Ross says: "The sociologist is just a man in the crow's nest who knows no

more of the sea than his fellows. But from his position he will catch sight of coming dangers—shoals, sunken rocks, derelicts, cross currents—before they are seen by those on the deck.

"This book is an attempt of an observer at the masthead to judge the probable course of the ship, and to call out what lies ahead, and how the ship must bear to starboard or to port in order to avoid trouble."

From his vantage point in the "Crow's Nest" Dr. Ross sees the hordes of South Europeans that are coming to our shores, and sounds a note of warning. The redundant fecundity of these people he sees as a social and economic menace. It is not alone lower wages and lower standards of living that threaten, but in this non-adaptive fecundity lies one of the primary causes of the lowering birth rate of the native born stock. "Sensing the curtailment of its children's chances, it withholds offspring in just the degree that the alien element expands." A more careful and rigid selection of the immigrants that come to our shores, and this selection made in the homeland across the sea rather than here, is Dr. Ross's suggestion.

Again he sees the rise of the city and the depletion of the country districts, and from the bearings taken from the viewpoint of the sociologist, he fears danger. The intellectual and moral conditions of country life are subjects of concern. The best and strongest of the young men and women, those who are by nature equipped for leadership, are leaving, going to the cities. The development and maintenance of the social and business life of the community is left in the care of mediocre individuals.

On the moral side conditions are not much the better. "Talk about the purity of the open country," says one, "the moral conditions of our country boys and girls are worse than in the worst tenement house in New York." The remedy suggested is better and more varied forms of recreation, community organization, development of

leadership and the retaining of these leaders in the community, better school buildings and a curriculum adapted to country life rather than to city life, pastors in the churches with training, with a vision, and imbued with the social spirit of the Master. Truly the watcher in the "Crow's Nest" has a clear view!

Again the sociologist on the watch tower looks forth and sees in prohibition, not a mere movement for greater temperance, but an effort to remove by force a cancer that was eating into the very vitals of the social body and sending its infection into the remotest parts of the system. Alcoholism threatened racial integrity. It predicted alcoholic selection, the removal by degeneration or death of that part of the population that had developed the appetite, and the survival of that which had developed the greatest power of resistance. This did not necessarily mean the survival of the fittest. Alcoholism was wrecking the home and debauching political life. Prohibition has not invaded the realm of personal rights or personal liberty. It is a magnificent effort at national social sanitation.

There are other chapters equally illuminating, equally suggestive. *The Changing Domestic Position of Women*, *Women in a Man-made World*, *The Legal Profession from the Social Point of View*, *War as a Determiner*, are some of the titles that arouse interest.

Dr. Ross is a man with a broad vision. He sees clearly, and he writes fearlessly. He exposes wrongs and inequalities wherever he finds them and asks no favors.

It would be well if every teacher in the public schools, and every preacher in our churches, especially those who are serving country communities, would read this book. It should suggest to these group lines of study and investigation that would greatly aid them in understanding and guiding the social trend in their fields of work.

G. O. MUDGE.

THE INFLUENCE OF WAR TRAVEL ON ONE RURAL STATE FROM THE LETTERS OF QUINCY SHARPE MILLS TO LACONIC ILLITERACY

R. B. HOUSE

ONE OF THE most conspicuous changes in physical habits wrought in North Carolina by the World War was the phenomenon of war travel, and the resultant personal contacts of North Carolinians with an infinite variety of peoples and places. Considering the educative force of travel in general, and considering especially the impressionable nature of these particular travelers and the impressiveness of their travel experiences, we should expect a corresponding revolution in their mental habits. Considering, moreover, the vicarious observation of these travelers for their homefolks, we realize that all of North Carolina was in these years expanding its consciousness of other parts of the world. By the personal contacts of war travel North Carolinians deepened their consciousness of the state, the nation, and the world. Their minds expanded from the local to the international. They saw North Carolina in clear perspective for the first time. Thus they were able to judge critically of the state wherein it was in both wholesome and unwholesome contrast to other sections and other civilizations. The travelers learned from each other and from other peoples points of view that had been hitherto foreign. The results of this mental and spiritual enlargement operate today.

Let us consider first the revolution in the physical habits of the state. Prior to 1916 there had never been a wholesale movement of North Carolinians outside their familiar environments. Even the Civil War had taken them no further than into similar conditions of adjoining states. Such travel as there had been was by isolated individuals with no possibility of influence on the people as a whole. But in 1916 and the succeeding years the people left the state by thousands and ranged over the whole face of the globe. To the hundred thousand who went into the fighting forces and auxiliary services we must add their visiting relatives, and those who followed government jobs and general economic opportunity, from the boys who went north to

drive home automobiles, to business men in China.

The movement of negroes amounted to a general migration. The economic migration cannot be measured. But it is conservatively estimated that four hundred thousand North Carolinians traveled during the years 1916-1920. They ranged from Mexico to Alaska and through all the states of the union and of Canada. They visited Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Switzerland, Holland, and Italy. They became inmates of homes and students in the schools of France, Belgium, Germany, and England. Bankers went to South America and tobaccoists to the Near and the Far East. Sailors voyaged all the seas and visited many of the islands, for naval service meant anything from patrol duty in the North Sea to guard duty in the Virgin Islands. At the same time Camps Greene, Polk, Bragg, and the lesser stations brought over seventy thousand men into North Carolina. Hundreds of troop trains brought their thousands into contact with North Carolina people. It is certain that never before had so many North Carolinians gone out of the state and into such varied places. It is equally certain that never before had so much of the outside world come into North Carolina. These visitors ranged in kind from northern and western troops to interned Germans and Czechoslovaks returning from exile.

It is evident, therefore, that so many contacts with the outside world resulted in a revolution in the mental habits of North Carolinians. The stolid virtues of North Carolina had never been reinforced by the urbanity of manners and the cosmopolitan outlook resulting from foreign travel. The leadership of Nathaniel Macon in earlier days illustrates the provincial prejudices of the people, as also do the feud with Virginia, and the antagonism between east and west within North Carolina. It is a historic fact that William R. Davie was defeated for Congress by the skillful use of prejudice against him because he had traveled in France and become tainted with

foreign manners. Few North Carolinians had ever seen a large city, a standard theatre, or had ever been a part of a large group. They prided themselves on local loyalties without considering the provincialism of their outlook. Ignorance of other sections bred sectional hostility. Ignorance of foreign people bred contempt for foreigners. Home keeping habits fostered the attendant homeliness of wit.

The educative force of travel has long been recognized. The Crusaders of western Europe left home to fight the infidels; they came home with the Renaissance at work in their souls. During the Renaissance travel was the prime requisite of the scholar. Benedetto Croce in his *Theory and Practice of History* stresses over and over the need for travel as a means of understanding the problems of history. In fact, the historian to him is not the cloistered philologist, but simply the man, learned or unlearned, who familiarizes himself with the conditions of his own thought by observation. Scholar after scholar at recent meetings of the American Historical Association has urged the historian to

travel. Professor Haskins in his presidential address before this body in New Haven, illustrated the enlightening force of travel by an instance from war travel. He quoted a doughboy: "There's a hell of a lot of difference between Trenton, New Jersey, and Paris, France, and you never know it until you get to Paris, France." Now with history simply an enlightened understanding, and with travel as a fundamental force in such enlightenment, consider the mental enlargement resulting to a state whose citizens travel extensively for the first time.

Never were there more receptive travelers than the World War soldiers. They were men at their most impressionable age, made eager for experience by the monotony of camp life. Many of them were fitted for travel by college training. All of them had the faculty of getting about and using their eyes and ears. They were favored guests in all communities, and they ran quickly the gamut of all local experiences whether in this country or abroad. Never was there more concentrated experience than in these tense war times. Each country recapitulated its history

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL POLICY

Edited with an Introduction by **JAMES FORD, Ph.D.**
Associate Professor, Social Ethics, Harvard University

Every teacher and student of social policy will want to have at hand this scholarly compilation of the best of contemporary thought on the principles underlying the treatment and prevention of Poverty, Defectiveness and Criminality—the most comprehensive study of the subject available. The arrangement of material is as follows: Part I is made up of statements of social purpose and social criteria as formulated by various contemporary schools of ethics; Part II comprises statements of social method drawn from statistical science, pedagogy, psychology, economics, philanthropy, sociology, law, political science, and biology; Parts III, IV, and V apply the principles outlined in Parts I and II to the problems of defectiveness, poverty, and crime.

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and offered it to every visitor. The war effort brought out every national trait for observation. The high emotions of the time fixed impressions indelibly on the mind of the observer.

The war brought men together in a great comradeship like that experienced by students in the university. They trained each other in new points of view. The individualist from the mountains bunked with the boy from the city. The one learned the qualities of the other. The Southerner bunked with the Northerner and both dissolved their prejudices in friendship. The American made friends with his French instructor, he became a son to his French mother, went to mass with the family. In the mobilization of the French for the Ruhr today he sees no abstraction, but the movement of his *quondam* comrades from a home and family that is now his also. Nor to other boys do the French move into an

abstraction that is Germany. Rather an army moves into the homes and businesses of his friends in Germany. Abstraction has thus given away to concrete experiences everywhere.

The North Carolinians saw North Carolina for the first time in critical perspective. He compared his state both favorably and unfavorably with other civilizations. Prone to exalt the democracy of America, he yet saw features of English and French democracy that set him thinking about democracy as a spirit rather than a form. Coming from a land characterized by wastefulness he both observed and experienced the economy of French, English, and German. He contrasted the magnificent forest conservation of the French, for instance, with the vandalism of North Carolina lumbermen. Who can estimate the effect on the good roads movement in North Carolina of the example of France, a country



ANNOUNCEMENT

BETTER TIMES has begun publishing, with its current issue, a special bi-monthly section, "Money Raising and Administrative Methods," which will make available the advice of the leading experts on such subjects as—

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with no bad roads, even in the battle areas. He observed the red fields of the Vosges section preserved from washing by forestry and planting, and compared them with washed out red fields of North Carolina. He saw Frenchmen with proportionately less income than he had ever known, achieving a broader culture and a more joyous life than he had ever experienced. He made subtle comparisons between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin points of view in frankness, in love and marriage, in humor, in courage. Who can estimate the force of these observations on the rising critical consciousness of North Carolinians today.

On the other hand he observed the saddening influence of the vaunted English ale. He corrected the myth of French temperance by observing many a sot sleeping on a manure pile. He compared French homes and manure piles with his home town. He saw poverty such as he had never dreamed of, and he corrected undue sentimentality about John Smith, the North Carolina tenant, by comparing him with his cloddy counterpart in the Vosges. While he saw things in North Carolina to improve, he yet saw a host of reasons to thank God for the state as it was.

These travelers not only studied for themselves, they stimulated their home folks to study. Several million travel letters came back home to be read in the family, passed around to the neighbors, and published in the papers. They range in quality from the recently published letters of Quincy Sharpe Mills to the laconic utterances of the illiterate. But they all expressed something of the difference between the new environment and North Carolina. And they all stimulated thought and study. A glance at the war shelves in any public library will indicate how books on foreign countries were used.

Finally these travelers returned, being themselves the most effective documents of war travel. The various divisional reunions, the meetings of the American Legion, the pages of the Legion Weekly, the Pullman smoking room, conversations overheard here and there, show countless evidences of the influence of travel on these men.

A certain North Carolina hamlet of 200 citizens in 1916 possessed no citizen who had been abroad, and few that had been farther away than Vir-

ginia. Today it has several citizens, both white and black, who have been in England, France, and Italy, and numbers who have been in the North and West. One farmer there has a fine collection of English, French, Swiss, and Italian views, collected in those countries, and he has a critical appreciation of them. I heard two farmers in this community discussing French art and architecture in contrast to American; and on another occasion I learned of a farmer settling a controversy about a picture in the Louvre. The controversialists had only read of the picture. The farmer had seen it.

Examples of this mental enlargement through war travel can be picked from the air by the casual listener. They exist in war letters and souvenirs. They are eloquent in the files of the Red Cross and Community Service Stations. All the military histories are alive with the observation of travelers in foreign parts. By reading these records and engaging in conversation with these men I have become convinced that the broadening of North Carolina culture by travel, observation, and criticism is one of the most far-reaching social results of the World War.

The Negro Year Book

MONROE N. WORK, EDITOR

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THE NOVEMBER JOURNAL

Gerald W. Johnson's "Issachar Is a Strong Ass," while it gives recognition to the progressive measures of a commonwealth, nevertheless, points out with keen and brilliant discrimination certain important considerations which are adaptable to all of the states at the present time. Readers of *The JOURNAL* will recall his article in the March number entitled "Mr. Babbitt Arrives at Erzerum." *C. J. Galpin* will contribute further material to *The JOURNAL* from his workshop in the division of farm population and rural life studies in the Department of Agriculture at Washington. *Roland M. Harper* is Geologist with the State Geological Survey and the University of Alabama. *R. Clyde White* has just gone as Professor of Rural Sociology to the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. The story of pioneering progress told by *Warren H. Wilson* is typical of the work which he is still doing in the realm of the church and country life. The article by *Carl C. Taylor* is in substance a chapter from a forthcoming volume on Rural Sociology. *E. L. Morgan* sets forth briefly the plan of his work at the University of Missouri. *Wiley B. Sanders* is in charge of Social Case Work and Field Work at the School of Public Welfare, University of North Carolina. Teachers in elementary courses in sociology ought to read the article by *Jeanette Paddock Nichols*; she obtained material for her article while professor at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia. *S. H. Hobbs, Jr.*, is the junior partner in the Department of Rural Social Economics, University of North Carolina. *Percy Scott Flippin* is Professor of History at Mercer University. *Edmund deS. Brunner* is Secretary of the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York City. His two new books on the church are being reviewed in *The JOURNAL*. *Robert W. Kelso*, former Commissioner of Public Welfare in Massachusetts, is Secretary of the Boston Council of Social Agencies. *J. L. Gillin* of the University of Wisconsin is editing a new series of text-books in the field of social work. *Howard R. Knight* is with the Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency at Columbus. *Burr Blackburn* is Secretary of the Georgia Council of Social Agencies.

Jesse F. Steiner's next article will be entitled "Community Disorganization." *Charles M. DeForest* is Executive of the Modern Health Crusade, and formerly national sales manager of Christmas Seals of the National Tuberculosis Association. *Ray H. Everett* is Managing Editor of the *American Social Hygiene*. *Grace Abbott* is President of the National Conference of Social Work. *Thomas D. Eliot* teaches Sociology at Northwestern University. *T. J. Woofter, Jr.*, is Secretary of the Inter-Racial Committee for Georgia and has done outstanding work both in the field of research and practical application. *N. C. Newbold*, as Head of the Division of Negro Education in the North Carolina Department of Public Education, has directed one of the most constructive efforts yet attempted in the field of negro education. *E. C. Branson* writes from his sojourn in Germany and Denmark. *Kenyon L. Butterfield*, although a great pioneer in the field of rural life studies, is still pioneering. *N. R. Bond*, who is Professor at the Mississippi State Normal College, is an outstanding member of the younger progressives of that state. *Miriam I. Ross* is a member of the State Department of Public Welfare in Massachusetts. *Manuel C. Elmer* is specialist in social surveys, serving at the University of Minnesota. *Caroline W. Jones* is a member of the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Welfare. *Dr. S. P. Breckenridge* is Professor of Social Economy at the University of Chicago. *H. N. Morse*, in addition to many other tasks, edits *Homelands*. *R. B. House* is in charge of documentary research for the North Carolina Historical Commission.

THE JANUARY JOURNAL

In the January *JOURNAL*, which will feature "dependable social theory," will appear, among others, Franklin H. Giddings, Roscoe Pound, Arthur J. Todd, Howard Woolston, Walton Hamilton, Harry E. Barnes, Charles A. Dinsmore, R. D. W. Connor, Amos R. Butler, Frances Fenton Bernard, W. A. Harper, Jesse F. Steiner, W. D. Weatherford, R. D. McKenzie, Luther S. Cresman, Mary G. Shotwell, Walker Hayes, Philips Bradley, Guy B. Johnson.

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Statement by the Executive Committee of the Association

In view of the diversity of courses of instruction for training social workers and the variety of administrative systems under which the instruction is given—systems which include separate schools, graduate and undergraduate schools or departments of endowed colleges and universities and of state universities, as well as schools under the auspices of religious denominations and the apprentice and institute courses of national service organizations—the Executive Committee of the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work considers it desirable to make at this time a statement of the fundamental principles underlying adequate professional education for social work. The Committee hopes that this statement may be a service to those who contemplate the establishment of new schools, as well as to those concerned with the determination of policies for the existing schools.

1. Data collected from social workers and special investigations that have been made recently show clearly that the most satisfactory preparation for social work is that which is conducted on a broad basis of professional education. Preparation of this character utilizes the technical contributions of allied professions, requires unity and continuity of instruction and is contingent upon centralized responsibility of direction and administration.

2. It is highly desirable, in order to meet these requirements, that a school offering preparation for social work should approximate the following specific organization, whether as an educational unit it be separate from, affiliated with, or constitute a part of a larger educational institution:

A. An organic grouping of relevant courses of instruction into a special curriculum for the stated purpose of vocational training or professional education for social work.

B. These grouped courses of instruction should consist, in general, of four types:

(1) *Background of pre-professional courses*, to be given by a regular member or members of the faculty in good academic standing.

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